



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2008 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation

I. 2. 9.

IRELAND.



AN OUTLINE MAP OF IRELAND FOR ENGLISH READERS.

IRELAND

AND THE

HOLY SEE IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

BY

WILLIS NEVINS,

AUTHOR OF

“A POPULAR DEFENCE OF THE JESUITS,”

“JULIAN'S ARGUMENTS AGAINST THE CHRISTIANS,” &c., &c.

WILLIAMS AND NORGATE,

14, HENRIETTA STREET, COVENT GARDEN, LONDON;
AND 20, SOUTH FREDERICK STREET, EDINBURGH.

HODGES, FOSTER AND FIGGIS, DUBLIN.

1879.



$\frac{1}{\sqrt{\pi}} \int_{-\infty}^{\infty} f(x) \delta(x-a) dx = f(a)$

DA
933
N41L

DEDICATION.

TO THE MEMORY OF

PIM NEVINS,

Of Larchfield near (now part of) Leeds,

The first of the family who came to England,

Being younger brother of

COLONEL ARCHIBALD NEVINS,

Of Kilglas, Co. Kildare,

Who lost his life through hardships suffered

when taken Prisoner by the

Insurgents of 1798,

This Book showing the consistent and persistent efforts of the Popes to strengthen the union between Ireland and England is appropriately dedicated by his great-grandson,

THE AUTHOR.

55815

P R E F A C E .

THIS book was written by me in consequence of my having published a pamphlet, which however I speedily withdrew from circulation. I thought Rome's never ending efforts to frustrate all attempts at severance of England from Ireland showed a supreme contempt for Irish patriotism, especially the donation of Pope Adrian to Henry II.

A deeper study has convinced me of what perhaps I ought to have taken for granted, namely, that Rome's policy with respect to Irish subjection to England was not based on selfish motives, but purely for the good of the Irish themselves. It seems evident that the Celtic race if left to themselves would never have become Christian, or at least Christian only in

name not in reality. The Popes in their support of the Norman conquest of England were apparently guided by the thought that as the Britons would not convert the Saxons, and the Saxon mode of showing Christian feeling towards the Danes was exemplified in the massacre of St. Brice's day, which for ever would have prevented them from being regarded as Christian missionaries—so a Norman conquest was necessary, the Normans being of the same kindred as the Danes and thus able to amalgamate. As in the case of England in the eleventh century so in Ireland in the twelfth. The Danes and Celts in Ireland would not coalesce, but the Norman invasion in this case as in the other proved that the Danes became absorbed in the Norman element and so Christianity had a fair field before it.

Furthermore, Ireland being outside the Roman Empire and never conquered by the Roman legions was a fact the Popes who naturally in those days looked on the Roman

Empire and Church as co-extensive could not overlook. The Norman conquest of Ireland brought her into the great European family and rendered her more closely joined to the See of Rome than she was before. The tribal system in vogue in Ireland was very detrimental to Christian progress. Tribal strife was incessant and so long as the Celts remained in an island outside the Roman Empire so long would the country be a prey to internal feuds. The usual objection urged, that the Normans proved as quarrelsome as the Celts is partially true, and is due to the want of power on the part of the Kings of England to restrain them. But no one regretted this more than the Popes, and in the translations from Theiner* it will clearly be seen that although they were sternly determined to condemn all attempts at throwing off the Norman yoke, yet they severely censured and strove to overcome the tyranny

* Here let me express my thanks to my friend Mr. J. C. Earle for his kind assistance in many of these translations.

of the Barons. The letter of Pope John XXII is a very good example of the thoroughly paternal feeling of the Popes towards Ireland coupled with a maintenance of the right of his predecessor Pope Adrian's gift (which is also taken for granted by Honorius III). In the *Appendix* I have given some documents likely to be of interest. The letter of the Pope relative to the Archbishop of Cashel is a splendid example of the calm judicial mind which animated the Pontiffs.

One final remark I must make. This book has been written purely from a historical point of view; Theology I have not in the very least dealt with; controversy also I have as much as possible avoided. My desire has been to show the dealings of Rome with Ireland from the earliest times till the Norman invasion was a well-established fact. This I have tried impartially to carry out and have used Theiner's valuable work freely in giving Papal documents which I believe now for the first time appear in an English dress. With

two or three exceptions all the books used are in my own library and quotations are consequently perfectly reliable. Should success attend this venture I purpose continuing at a future time the subject from the Norman period till the Victorian.

WILLIS NEVINS.

2, SAVILE ROW, W.

ERRATA.

Page 175, for "Cambrensis," read "Giraldus Cambrensis,"
and so throughout.

BOOKS CHIEFLY USED, WITH EDITIONS.

Ordericus Vitalis' Ecclesiastical Hist. of England and Normandy. Bohn's edition.

Father Peter Walsh's History of Ireland, 1680.

Lappenberg's Hist. of England under Anglo-Saxon Kings, by Thorpe. Murray, 1845.

Bryce's Holy Roman Empire, 4th edit. Macmillan.

Berington's Literary Hist. of Middle Ages. Bogue, 1846.

Hergenröther's Catholic Church and Christian State. Burns, 1876.

Bishop Moran's Essays on Early Irish Church. Duffy, 1864.

Historic Documents of Ireland, 1172—1320, published under direction of the Master of the Rolls. Longmans, 1870.

Villanueva's Phœnician Ireland, by O'Brien, 2nd edit., 1837.

Waterworth's (S.J.) England and Rome. Burns, 1854.

Whittle's Catholicism and the Vatican. King, 1872.

Schlegel's Philosophy of History, Bohn's edit.

Todd's St. Patrick. Hodges, Smith & Co., 1864.

C. O'Connor's Ancient Hist. of Ireland, 1st edit., 1753.

O'Flaherty's H-IAR Connaught, 1684. Hardiman edition, printed for Irish Archæological Society, 1846.

Theiner's Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum Historiam Illustrantia, 1216—1547. Romæ, Typis Vaticanis, 1864. (This is in the London Library, and is most valuable and apparently but little known).

- Hanmer's Chronicle of Ireland, 1571. Dublin edit. of 1809.
Spencer's State of Ireland, 1596. Dublin edit. of 1809.
Campion's Historie of Ireland, 1571. Dublin edit. of 1809.
Ware's Antiquities and History of Ireland in one volume.
London: Churchill, 1705.
D'Alton's Memoirs of Archbishops of Dublin. Hodges,
Dublin, 1838.
Cusack's History of Ireland. Longmans, 1871.
Abbé MacGeoghegan's Hist. of Ireland, O'Kelly's edit.
O'Flanagan, Dublin, 1831.
O'Donovan's Annals of Ireland by the Four Masters to the
year 1616. 2nd edit. Hodges, Dublin, 1856.
Betham's Antiquarian Researches. Curry, Dublin, 1827.
Dr. Newman's Historical Sketches, 2nd edit.
De Maistre, "Le Pape." Pelagaud Fils, Lyon, 1873.



CHAPTER I.

PRE-CHRISTIAN IRELAND.

WHILE Ireland was in a spiritual sense conquered by Rome, she was in another, unvanquished. The Roman legions never trod on the Irish shamrock; but the Roman Missionary, bent on winning souls to Christ, was a conqueror whose success is apparent in this nineteenth century in spite of incessant persecution and opposition. What is the origin of the inhabitants of the Isle of the West, from whence come they that with such dogged perseverance they have kept inviolate their faith with Christian Rome, although never conquered as was England by Pagan Rome?

Of one fact there is an overwhelming amount of evidence, so great indeed, that for me to make use of it or refer to the authors who have written on it would be mere pedantry and

justly lay me open to the charge of book-making. The Irish are known and acknowledged to have come from Spain. This is certain; but where, previous to Spain, was their birthplace, is a controverted question. A writer of great and deserved repute, Villanueva, has ably endeavoured to prove that they are of Phœnician origin, and his work has been translated into English, and elaborately edited with notes by Henry O'Brien. There is a good deal to be said for the arguments of Villanueva, and without giving them as by any means conclusive they yet will not be thrown away, as every atom of historic and linguistic lore bearing on the origin of our forefathers must be of interest as a preparation for the question which is to be considered, namely Ireland and Rome, the *people* of Ireland and their bearing towards Rome; Rome and its attitude towards the ever-subservient Celt.

There were some old records preserved called the "Annals of Innisfallen;" in these Annals the plain of Fermoy was significantly

called "The plain of the Phœnicians." The Phœnicians, according to Nennius an English chronicler of the 7th century, thus gave their territorial origin.*

"If any one would be anxious to learn how long Ireland was uninhabited and deserted, he shall hear it, as the most learned of the Scots have related it to me. (*Scots* was the name given to the Irish primarily, thence to the Irish settled in what has been since called Scotland). When the children of Israel came to the Red Sea, the Egyptians pursued them and were drowned as the Scripture records. In the time of Moses there was a Scythian noble who had been banished from his kingdom and dwelt in Egypt with a large family. He was there when the Egyptians were drowned, but he did not join in the persecution of the Lord's people.

Those who survived laid plans to banish him, lest he should assume the government, because his brethren were drowned in the Red

* Quoted by M. F. Cusack in "History of Ireland," 5th edit. p. 69.

Sea ; so he was expelled. He wandered through Africa for forty-two years, and passed by the lake of Salinœ to the altars of the Philistines, and between Rusicada and the mountains Azure, and he came by the River Mulon, and by sea to the Pillars of Hercules, and through the Tuscan Sea, and he made for Spain, and dwelt there many years and he increased and multiplied, and his people were multiplied."

Similarity of name certainly implies some connecting link or old association, and Villanueva refers the reader to Ptolemy's ancient map of Ireland, in which places are marked which claim a Phœnician origin. A few examples may be interesting. Ausoba, or Ausona, is given by Ptolemy as in West Connaught. Ausoba is certainly akin to the Phœnician word "Auzob," which means a narrow bay. Ausona, similarly from the Phœnician Aus-on, a resounding river. Again, in that part of Spain which the Romans called Hesperia Citerior, between Manresa and Gerunda, stood an ancient city called Ausona, or

Ausa, which gave its name to the people there, Ausetari. It was destroyed by the Arabians, and is now called Vich. In the Asturias is a chain of mountains called Ausona. Another instance is the word Laberüs, now called Kildare. An equivalent Phœnician word is “lahab era,” which signifies a flame in a cave, and is presumably a reference to the perpetual fire of the priests. But one more example of verbal similitude will suffice to show that the champions of the Phœnician origin of Ireland’s inhabitants have something to say for their theory. “Crom” is a word of constant occurrence in Ireland. For example, Crom-atin, near Ardee; Crom-castle, in Limerick; Crom-oge, Crom-chin, Crom-lin. Cromatin may be from the Phœnician Crom-arithin, which means a shrubbery dedicated to Fate; Cromoge from Crom-og, people burning victims in the shrubbery of Fate; Crom-chin, from Crom-schin, people applauding in the grove of Fate; Cromlin, from Cram-lun, people sojourning in the grove of Fate.

Another question of interest may be casually mentioned here, and it is the connection between the Phœnicians and the Hebrews, for as Frederick von Schlegel has remarked,* there were frequent intermarriages of the Hebrews with the Phœnicians, severely prohibited as such intermarriages were, and justly so. Who does not remember that the species of human sacrifice most widely diffused among all the Phœnician nations was that in which the idol Moloch, heated from below, grasped in his glowing arms the infant victim. There is beside the fact of these intermarriages a close similarity between the ancient Hebrew alphabet and the Phœnician.† The whole alphabet possesses a striking similarity. The Phœnician and Milesian are very similar. In both the name of the letter is a substantive, for example, *Aleph*, a guide; *Beth*, a house. But in Milesian *all* represent different names of trees, which one would suppose points to

* "Philosophy of History."

† Those interested should consult Kenrick's "Phœnicia."

Druidical worship and the groves where religious acts were performed.

The Abbé MacGeoghegan writes (Vol. I, p. 5):—"The Spanish origin which ancient authors give to the Scoto-Milesians, and the epoch of their passing from Spain into Ireland, being compared with these circumstances are a strong indication that letters were in very early use among this people, and support firmly the opinion of those who think that they had received them rather from the Phœnicians than from the Greeks."

Although very unpractical, yet it is certainly allowable for antiquarian-loving Celts to claim relationship with the tribes of Israel, yet, alas! the relationship is not one which most men would be proud of, for the Phœnician Moloch-worshipper had no right to the hand of friendship from the God-worshipping Israelite.

To come to ages less near the Flood, we read in the "Four Masters," which is the most celebrated of all Irish records, and as important to Irish history as Monstrelet, Froissart

and De Comines are to English, that in "the age of the world 3500, the fleet of the sons of Milidh came to Ireland." The sons of Miletus from Spain conquered Ireland, and hence the reason why the Irish of the old Celtic races are called Milesians. These Spanish ancestors brought with them Druids and their worship. From that time till the advent of St. Patrick (A.D. 431), was about 2000 years, and it will be interesting to gather from the "Annals of the Four Masters" a few particulars as to the state of the ancient Irish previous to St. Patrick's arrival. First of all, however, a few words must be said to show how, although dates might get wrong, and facts distorted, yet the main drift must be correctly stated in these old Annals.

The Scoto-Milesians were obliged *by their laws* to preserve genealogies of their families. It was a regulation of the State in Milesian Ireland that no one could ascend the throne or assume any magisterial position unless a clear proof was at hand that he was connected with

the royal house. Not only were there authorized officials to attend to these matters, but they were under the eye of scrutinizing commissioners who exacted the heaviest penalties against the slightest error.

Ollamb Fodha, who instituted the office, enacted also that copies of all registries which, upon such examination were found pure, should be inserted in the "Psalter of Tara"; and this practice was continued until after Christian times.

With this preliminary statement I proceed to give some facts from the aforesaid "Annals of the Four Masters."

Three days after the landing of Milidh a battle was fought at Sliabh Mis, and one of Milidh's daughters named Scota was slain (her grave is still shown in the valley of Gleann-Scoithin, in county Kerry). Shortly after this the sons of Milidh fight three kings, who were all killed, and also their queens, which seems to our nineteenth century notions rather a barbarous mode of warfare.

The next year we learn that Ireland was

divided into two parts and ruled by Eremhon and Emher. That same year they quarrelled and a battle was fought in which Emher was slain and Eremhon became sovereign.

The next year (3503 of the world) one of Milidh's sons was slain by Eremhon in a battle at Biletineadh (*i.e.*, the ancient Tree of the Fire).

In 3506 the two chieftains of Eremhon, Fulman and Manton were killed by him in battle. They had important positions assigned to them only a few years before by Eremhon.

In 3510 he killed in battle Un, En and Edan, although on looking back to the year 3502, I see the province of Connaught was assigned by him to Un and Edan.

In 3519, four sons of Emer were slain by Irial Faidh, the son of Eremon.

In 3549 another son of Emer had his revenge by killing Eithrial the son of Irial Faidh. This son of Emer, in 3550, became king over Ireland, and he was the first king from Munster.

In 3579 he was killed by Tighernmas, son of Follach. He fought six notable battles.

In 3580, Tighernmas became king. Marvellous to relate he was not killed, but died in 3657. He fought thirty-one battles!

I might go on page after page giving lists of king-murders and murderers, but it would be practically useless. Suffice it to say that in turning over the pages of "The Four Masters" I jotted down in pencil the number of sovereigns killed in Ireland in 500 years from the landing of Milidh, and the total reaches the somewhat large number of twenty-four.

The English reader must not, however, suppose from the records of this tragic period of Irish history that the Celts were more bloodthirsty than their neighbours. One has but to turn to the pages of history and the same tale is told of Rome, Babylon, or the Persians. And, indeed, to come to civilized, refined times in Europe, we may quench our scorn of Celtic feuds by calling to mind the Germanic wars associated with the name of Rodolphus,

Albert, Henry VII, Frederick III, Louis of Bavaria, Charles nephew of Henry, who all perished either by conspiracy or poison. The Italian Peninsula can also reckon up an equally long list of tragedies, thanks to the Guelfs and Ghibelines. While, nearer home, the Englishman must remember that during the heptarchy, twenty-eight Saxon kings were murdered, and in Northumberland alone four kings were assassinated, and three deposed in forty-one years.

A few interesting details which bear witness to the state of civilization and progress previous to the Christian era will not fail to be of interest. I take them from the "Annals of the Four Masters."

Under the year of the world 3657, or 1537 before the birth of Christ, the following is recorded :—

"It was by Tighernmas also that gold was first smelted in Ireland, in Foithre-Airthir-Liffe. Uchadan, an artificer of the Feara-Cualann that smelted it. It was by him that goblets and

brooches were first covered with gold and silver in Ireland. It was by him that clothes were dyed purple, blue, and green."

My Pagan ancestors were not naked painted savages, although certainly their warlike tendencies would, one might imagine, have prevented them from attending to the fine arts. But a few years later, under the year 3664 is a record of the reign of Eochaidh Eadghadhach, who was so called because "it was by him the variety of colour was first put on clothes in Ireland, to distinguish the honour of each by his raiment, from the lowest to the highest. Thus was the distinction made between them: one colour in the clothes of slaves; two in the clothes of soldiers; three in the clothes of goodly heroes, or young lords of territories; six in the clothes of ollavs; seven in the clothes of kings and queens."

In the year 3817 Enna, the sovereign, had silver shields made "at Airget-Ros; so that he gave them to the men of Ireland, together with horses and chariots."

The meaning of Airget-Ros is the Silver Wood, and is on the River Nore, in the parish of Rathbeagh in Kilkenny.

Teetotalism could not have been in fashion, if one may judge by the following (3867):—
“Every plain in Ireland abounded with flowers and shamrocks in the time of Fiacha. These flowers, moreover, were found full of wine, so that the wine was squeezed into bright vessels.”

Pomps and vanities rapidly follow suit. Under the year 3872 is noted, “It was Muineamhon that first caused chains of gold to be worn on the necks of kings and chieftains in Ireland.”

MacGeoghegan’s “Annals of Clonmacnoise” on this reign add that “rings were to be put on their fingers, which was then in great use.”

The year 4540 is noticeable as the year of the accession to the sovereignty of Ireland of a woman, Macha.

Quaint and expressive is the old manner of recording fruitful or bad seasons; thus, A.D. 14: “Evil was the state of Ireland

during his reign; fruitless her corn, for there used to be but one grain on the stalk; fruitless her rivers; milkless her cattle; plentiful her fruit, for there used to be but one acorn on the oak." Contrast this miserable prospect with the record of a plentiful year. "The age of Christ 15. The first year of Fear-adhach Finnfeachtach as king over Ireland; good was Ireland during his time. The seasons were right tranquil. The earth brought forth its fruit; fishful its river-mouths; milkful the kine; heavy-headed the woods."

The year 266 A.D. is very noticeable as containing an account of the gathering of chroniclers to Tara by order of the King, Cormac son of Art. He ordered them to write the *Chronicles of Ireland* in one book. This was done and the book was called the "*Psalter of Teamhair*." To quote from "*The Four Masters*:" "In that book were entered the coeval exploits and synchronisms of the kings of Ireland with the kings and emperors of the world, and of the kings of the provinces with

the monarchs of Ireland. In it was also written what the monarchs of Ireland were entitled to receive from the provincial kings, and the rents and dues of the provincial kings from their subjects, from the noble to the subaltern. In it also were described the boundaries and meares of Ireland, from shore to shore, from the province to the cantred, from the cantred to the townland, and from the townland to the traighidh of land."

Unfortunately this record is lost, although so late as the eleventh century it was referred to in a poem by Cuan O'Lochain. Still, although now unavailable, yet doubtless it was known to St. Patrick and the Christians of Ireland, and probably by them expurgated of all which did not meet their approbation. This vicious habit accounts probably for the very slight notices of the Pagan worship in Ireland previous to the arrival of St. Patrick; but this subject will be treated later on.

Socially the ancient Irish were far in advance of their British and Saxon neighbours. Cam-

brensis tells us that the men wore trousers or braies, in Latin “braccæ,” whence Gaul was called “Gallia Braccata.” This question of dress is also another proof of the eastern origin of the Irish, for the Hebrews, Persians, and Scythians all did the same. The tunic, drawers, and leggings were all of one piece, and tight-fitting. A cloak was also worn of purple colour called “Falling,” which reminds us of the Pallium of the Greeks and the Toga of Rome. The English call them mantles, from “mantelum,” mentioned by Pliny and Plautus. The hair was worn long, and a moustache on the upper lip. (See Abbé MacGeoghan.) The women had a small mantle of cloth embroidered or trimmed with fringe, according to the quality of the person, and which hung down to the knees and covered their other clothes. The head-dress was called in Irish “Fileadh,” and consisted of a piece of fine linen with which they enveloped the head in a spiral form. The unmarried women wore long hair plaited, and interwoven with ribbons.

If dress is a mark of civilization—and who does not know the difference between the clothes of a Moses or a Poole or Buckmaster?—then the Irish were entirely fit, comparatively speaking, to take a stroll down Regent Street. We have however, other facts the knowledge of which must increase our admiration for the dwellers in the Emerald Isle. Music formed part of the education of the Milesian young gentleman. Every one was desirous to play or sing. The office of music-master to the king was among the number of posts created in the third century, in the reign of Cormac-ul-fada (see O'Flaherty's "*Oxyg.*" p. 3, cap. 63). Beside a musician, the king had near him a gentleman-companion, a judge, doctor, poet, historian, musician and three stewards. These posts were filled up and maintained till the eleventh century when Brian Boiroidmhe, in place of a Druid, had a Bishop, and this ecclesiastic acted as his confessor.

The following account of funeral ceremonies is interesting (Abbé MacGeoghegan):—

“When any person of distinction, or a chief of their ancient families died, they prepared feasts and kept open house for all those who assisted at the funeral. The wives of their vassals, who were much attached to them, or other women, who were professed mourners of the dead, like the ‘*Præficæ*’ came in crowds, and entering one after the other, with every appearance of despair, the hall where the corpse was exposed, they uttered loud cries and lamentations, reciting the genealogy and singing in verse, with a plaintive and melancholy voice the virtues and exploits of the deceased and those of his earliest ancestors. This kind of elegy, or rhyming funeral oration being ended, they were brought into another hall, where all kinds of refreshments were prepared; these women who relieved each other every hour, continued this ceremony as long as the corpse remained exposed. The day being appointed, and everything ready for the interment, the body was carried to the place of burial, accompanied by the same women making

the air resound with their cries. This custom, however barbarous it may appear, not being in unison with the present taste, was not without a precedent. Among the Jews, those who followed a funeral, bewailed with a loud voice, as appears by the burial of Abner; there were women who made it a profession to cry on those occasions and hymns were composed to be used as funeral orations to illustrious persons, such as David composed for Saul, and that of the prophet Jeremiah for Joshua. The ancient Romans also employed professed mourners at funerals, which is proved by its being prohibited in the laws of the Twelve Tables." (Vol. I. p. 164.)

To sum up we may safely say, that apart from the question of religion, morality, and peacefulness, the early Irish were far in advance of all neighbouring countries. They were cultured, approved of the fine arts, as specimens from their ancient devices on jewellery show. They wore clothes, and those not badly made, and coloured. They were in one word—polished barbarians.

CHAPTER II.

THE EARLY CHRISTIANS IN IRELAND.

THE records of Ireland contain very scanty indications of Christianity previous to the advent of Palladius and Patrick. The patriotic nun of Kenmare (Miss Cusack) writes: "The first Christian mission to Ireland for which we have definite and reliable data was that of St. Palladius."

That Palladius was the first of whom we have anything like full particulars is perfectly true; but, nevertheless, we have mention of pre-Patrician saints which in any history of Ireland should not be altogether overlooked, even if legendary. The historian is at once prepared for some record of Christianity by the fact that Prosper's "Chronicle" says; "*Ad Scotos in Christum credentes ordinatus a Papa*

Celestino Palladius primus Episcopus mittitur." (See "Annals of Ireland by the Four Masters," O'Donovan, Vol. I. p. 129, foot-note.) This implies a pre-existing Christian flock.

Tertullian relates that parts of the British Islands not subjected or approached by the Romans were influenced by Christianity, and Baronius at once refers the passage to Ireland. There is also a tradition that in the third century Cormac, King of Ireland, lost his life through the vehemence with which he argued against the heathens and in favour of Christianity.

Rupert says that in A.D. 350 Elephius, son of an Irish king, suffered martyrdom by Julian; and Gennadius says that Celestius, when a young man, wrote from his monastery to his parents in Ireland* as if they were Christians. He afterwards lapsed into the Pelagian heresy, and was condemned at Carthage A.D. 412.†

* Gennadius, *De Viris illis*, c. 44. He lived and wrote at the close of the fifth century.

† St. Jerome, in his usual style, which is certainly not courteous, though it may be saintly, calls him an Alpine dog "fattened on Scotie porridge."

Bede also affirms that Rome never sent bishops to purely Pagan nations unless there were some roots of Christianity there, and if he is correct in his assertion, then it, coupled with that of St. Prosper, at once decides the point that there were Christians in Ireland previous to the time of St. Palladius.

Usher, Ware, and Colgan affirm that (Colq. Triad. Thaum. Append. 5, cap. 15) four *bishops* existed in Ireland, who were also considered saints before the time of St. Patrick. Their names were Declan, Ailbeus, Kieran, and Ibar. Declan (according to Usher) was of royal blood, the son of Ere, prince of Nandesí. He was baptized by a holy priest called Colman, and instructed in the Christian religion by Dymma, who had returned to Ireland from abroad. The young saint made many converts, among whom were Mochelloc, Bean, Colman, Lachnin, Mob, Findlague, and Caminan. These men all built for themselves cells in Mag-Scethih, or "Campus-Scuti," in the land of Nandesí, county of Waterford. Not

satisfied, apparently, with the rudimentary faith learned in his own country, he went to Rome, and was there graciously received by Pope St. Cyricius, by whom he was ordained bishop and sent back to his own country. Usher relates ("Ind. Chronol." ad an 397, quoted by MacGeoghegan) that while at Rome he came across St. Ailbeus, who was a Leinster man. In his young days he had been instructed and made a Christian by a priest who was sent by the Holy See as a missionary from Rome. He, too, later on, was made a bishop by the reigning Pope. St. Kieran (Usher, "Primor. Eccl. Brit." c. 16, p. 788) was born in Ireland, according to Usher, about 352. The name of his parents will not be of general interest. Suffice it to say he dedicated his life to God, and for thirty years practised all kinds of austerities, all the time being unbaptized. He also went to Rome, and was ordained bishop by Pope Anastasius, and sent back to Ireland with five priests, who were by name Lugard, Colomban, Mildan, Lugace, and Cassan ; circa

402. As St. Patrick was going to Rome he met Kieran, who was not yet nominated apostle of Ireland. Colgan, according to an old manuscript of Kilkenny,* says that St. Patrick addressed the following words to the Saint: "Continue your journey to Ireland. In the middle of that country you will discover a fountain called Fuaran. You will there cause a monastery to be built, and in thirty years I will visit you there." After this the two saints embraced each other and departed.

Without of course attempting to maintain the accuracy of these details, still one fact is very obvious, that they one and all looked to Rome as the first See in Christendom and the one from which they derived their orders and jurisdiction. This to the non-controversialist would seem but natural, for to what See could

* They are probably legendary or later productions intended to fortify an old tradition. Dr. Todd, in his "Life of St. Patrick," has some very severe and apparently just remarks on their want of probability. He, however, fully bears out the fact that not only priests but altars and altar vessels were in existence, and alludes to St. Patrick finding them (p. 224).

more importance be attached than to that of Rome, Rome whose name at once brought the idea of authority and the all-conquering legions of the Cæsars to the minds of men? At that age, even if the Popes themselves were individually nobodies, still the reflected glory of Pagan Rome would shine on them. The Irish also, it must be remembered, were great travellers even in those early ages,* and were quite aware that Rome at any rate to the Roman Empire was the Metropolis. The Christians of Europe, with whom they would come in contact in their travels, would one and all point to Rome as the seat of the Christian Father or Papa or Pope; and when they, as doubtless many did, reached the Eternal City they would hear of the martyrdom of Peter and Paul, of the heroic deaths of the bishops of Rome, of their mighty efforts even

* Tacitus says that in the century before Christ the sea-ports of Ireland were well known to commercial men. "Aditus portusque per commercia et negocia tores cogniti."—*Agricola*, c. 24.

in those early times to make the Christian religion coextensive with the Roman Empire. What more natural, bearing all this in mind, than that the few scattered Christians in Pagan Ireland should at once make their way to the Father of the Faithful and there pour out to him their hopes and fears, their love for their country, their dread lest being *outside the Roman Empire* they should not reap the advantages which accrued to those whom Rome had subdued?

The little that history records, all favours the fact that the early Irish Christians had their bishops from Rome.* Controversialists may make capital out of discrepancies with respect to the records of those early times, but still if details be unworthy of absolute credit, yet the whole atmosphere breathed of Rome.

Roman legions were within forty miles of

* Bryan Borovey is said in A.D. 379 to have laid the crown of Ireland at the feet of the Pope. (See C. O'Connor's "Hist. Ireland," p. 84.)

the shores of Ireland, and wherever those legions went, there also might be found the Roman Christian priest. Geography and History go hand in hand together to propagate the faith of Rome in Ireland.



CHAPTER III.

ST. PATRICK.

ONE of the first of our living Irish Catholic poets writes :

“ Healed was a Nation's wound :
All men believed who will'd not disbelief ;
And sat in that oppunancy steel-mailed,
They cried, ' Before thy priests our bards shall bow,
And all our clans put on thy great Clan Christ ! ' ”

Aubrey de Vere has in these lines on the mission of St. Patrick to Ireland, either wittingly or unwittingly told the whole cause (humanly speaking) of his success.

Christianity when opposed by modern infidelity finds it hard work to confute the sceptic or reassure the waverer. Science though not opposed to our Christian Faith (for were it so, then either it would not be true Science or Christianity would be false ; the

God of Christianity is the God of the Natural order as well as the Supernatural;) yet points to many difficulties which Christian Apologists too often only vaguely deride instead of grappling with and harmonizing. In our day another difficulty at once arises from the divisions of Christendom, which lead many men to give up Christianity because of conflicting opinions as to the doctrines really taught by Jesus Christ; for it is obvious that the often quoted saying, "Believe in Christ," implies a great deal more than is expressed; it implies a belief in what He said, in what He taught, in what He claimed to be. As the Law, *though written*, requires a Judge, so Christianity without an authorized or unerring expounder is and must be more or less a failure, or at all events reduces itself to a mere moral school of Philosophy. But as the Poet says—all men believed who were not pugnaciously, instead of intellectually, opposed to Christianity.

The few Christians before St. Patrick's arrival had not made any mark on their country, they

had not gained over large masses of the natives to the Faith. Some may at first sight wonder at the cause of St. Patrick's success—later on in this chapter they will see his plan of action unfolded, here it requires the reader simply to refer to the last two lines quoted from De Vere,

" They cried, ' Before thy priests our bards shall bow,
And all our clans put on thy great Clan Christ! '"

St. Patrick, in fact, was a Jesuit in his principles, he knew that the true way to gain over a people is to persuade *the leaders of men*. In those days the chieftains were the leaders, and if a chieftain became Christian, the clan followed. The Jesuits used formerly to gain the post of confessor to kings; now that kings one might suppose have no consciences, they win the sympathy of the upper classes by their superior education, teaching and suavity of manner and address.

There is, and has been, a good deal of controversy as regards the mission of St. Patrick. As far as possible it is better in a history which certainly is not intended to be controversial to

avoid controversy; but there are some questions which must be slightly touched on; these difficulties it will be my object plainly to lay before my readers, and leave them to form their own opinion, whereas when history is plain there no such indecision will be needful or appear.

The "Annals of Ireland by the Four Masters" do not trouble their readers with a long account of St. Patrick. His advent is briefly and concisely recorded as follows: *

"The age of Christ, 431. The third year of Laeghaire. St. Patrick was ordained bishop by the holy Pope, Celestine the First, who ordered him to go to Ireland, to preach and teach faith and piety to the Gaeidhil, and also to baptize them.

"The age of Christ, 432. The fourth year of Laeghaire. Patrick came to Ireland this year, and proceeded to baptize and bless the Irish, men, women, sons, daughters, except a few

* "Annals of Ireland by the Four Masters," by O'Donovan, second edition.

who did not consent to receive faith or baptism, from him, as his 'Life' relates."

This is all the information we have from the "Annals of Ireland by the Four Masters" of St. Patrick's authorization by Rome, and arrival in Ireland.

A reference is given to his "Life," but we are left in the dark as to which "Life" is meant, for the number of "Lives," is legion. O'Donovan says that seven "Lives" of St. Patrick have been published by Colgan in his "Trias Thaum," of which the seventh, which is called "Vita Tripartita," and is ascribed to St. Evin, is the most copious. Usher had another "Life," divided into three parts, which, from the several quotations he gives from it, appears to be very different from the "Tripartite Life" published by Colgan. Just before the extract from the "Annals," which I have given above, is another referring to the previous mission of St. Palladius. As the controversy connected with St. Patrick's Roman mission hangs on an asserted mixture and confu-

sion between the two Saints, it is necessary that strict attention be given to the following passage.

“ The Age of Christ, 430. The second year of Laeghaire. In this year Pope Celestinus the First sent Palladius to Ireland to propagate the Faith among the Irish, and he landed in the county of Leinster, with a company of twelve men. Nathi, son of Garchu, refused to admit him; but, however, he baptized a few persons in Ireland, and three wooden churches were erected by him [namely] Cell-Fhine, Teach-na-Romham, and Domhnach-Arta. At Cell-Fhine he left his books, and a shrine with the relics of Paul and Peter, and many martyrs besides. He left these four in these churches: Augustinus, Benedictus, Silvester, and Solinus Palladius, on his returning back to Rome (as he did not receive respect in Ireland), contracted a disease in the country of the Cruith-righ, and died thereof.”

First of all, to make the above statement more complete, the following quotation from Prosper’s “ Chronicle,” should come in here,

“Ad Scotos in Christum credentes ordinatus a Papa Celestino Palladius primus Episcopus mittitur.”

Thus these two records say that St. Palladius was sent by Celestinus the First to Ireland not so much to convert the native heathen as to build up the faith of the already existing Christians. Thus he was made a bishop, whereas, had he been sent to convert the heathen as his primary task he would not have been made a bishop.

The theory of those who oppose the idea of St. Patrick's direct mission from Rome is that St. Palladius was the real St. Patrick, and did nearly all the work, while St. Patrick was in comparison a mere secondary character, who was not sent by Rome. The controversial value of this argument is worthless; for if St. Patrick was not sent by Rome, still St. Palladius was, and thus the fact that Ireland was indebted to Rome for her Christianity would remain. But the historical inquiry, apart from controversial objects is a different affair alto-

gether, and must meet with careful consideration from all historians.

By far the ablest writer on what must be called the Protestant side is Dr. Todd, who was Senior Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, and Regius Professor of Hebrew. He has carefully gone into the question in a book called "St. Patrick: Apostle of Ireland." (Hodges, Smith & Co., Publishers to the University. Dublin, 1864.) From that book the argument against St. Patrick will now be given as briefly as is consistent with a perfect understanding of the points at issue. Having given his side of the question, the other will be given, and my readers must then decide for themselves.

The Abbé MacGeoghegan writes: "The Apostle of Ireland was called at his baptism Succath, signifying warlike—*fortis in bello*. It was Pope Celestine that gave him the name of Patricius. Patrician was a title of honour among the ancient Romans, and a dignity to which high privileges were annexed. According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, some of

the kings of France have not disdained to bear the title of Roman Patrician.

But Todd says (p. 305) that Patricius was a name *in common use at that time*, as also Patricia for a female. We are not under the necessity of supposing it to be a title indicating Patrician rank. He quotes Gibbon ("Decline and Fall," viii, p. 300, ed. Milman and Smith) who says: "The meanest subjects of the Roman Empire [at the close of the fifth century] assumed the illustrious name of Patricius, which, by the conversion of Ireland, has been communicated to a whole nation."

Thus, then, the name was a common one, and St. Patrick was by no means especially marked out by his name being peculiar.

Three very ancient documents are quoted by Dr. Todd as having vital interest on the question. First of all, in the "Book of Armagh," is a Life of St. Patrick which was written not later than A.D. 700. In it is the following: "Palladius was ordained and sent to convert this island, lying under wintry cold, but God

hindered him, for no man can receive anything from earth unless it be given him from heaven; for neither did those fierce and savage men receive his doctrine readily, nor did he himself wish to spend time in a land not his own; but he returned to him who sent him. On his return hence, however, after his first passage of the sea, having commenced a land-journey, he died in the territories of the Britons. Therefore, when the death of Palladius in the Britains was heard of (for the disciples of Palladius, viz., Augustinus and Benedictus and the rest, on their return, brought the news of it to Ebmoira), then Patrick and those who were with him," &c.

The second is likewise from the "Book of Armagh," and is called the "Annotations of Tirechan," and on the Life of St. Patrick. It is very noticeable, as will be seen: "Palladius, the bishop, is first sent, who by another name was called Patricius, who suffered martyrdom among the Scots, as antient saints relate. Then Patricius the Second is sent by the angel of

God, named Victor, and by Pope Celestine, in whom all Hibernia believed, and who baptized almost the whole of it."

The third account is in the "Scholia on Fiacc's Hymn," published by Colgan in his collection of the Biographies of St. Patrick. The original Irish is in the copy of the "Book of Hymns," in the convent of St. Isidore, at Rome, a MS. of the eleventh or twelfth century, but the author probably was of an earlier period. After recording the landing of Palladius, it relates: "He founded there some churches, viz.: Teachna-Roman, or the House of the Romans, Killfine, and others. Nevertheless, he was not well received by the people, but was forced to go round the coast of Ireland towards the north, until, driven by a great tempest, he reached the extreme part of Modhaidh towards the south, where he founded the Church of Fordun, and Pledi is his name there."

A fourth "Life," in Colgan's collection, by St. Aileran, says, "But, inasmuch as Almighty God had not predestined the Hibernian people

to be brought by him from the error of heathenism to the faith of the Holy and Undivided Trinity, he remained there only a few days."

The discrepancies in these accounts are perfectly obvious.

He dies in Britain, then martyred in Ireland (Scots). He founds churches, and yet only remains a few days. The conclusion which seems obvious is that the Irish biographers of St. Patrick felt compelled to shorten the life of St. Palladius in order to squeeze in the mission of St. Patrick by *Pope Celestine*.* Palladius could not have done all mentioned in the extracts given by Dr. Todd, and also mentioned by the Four Masters, in a few days; nor could he have gone to the Picts and died there and let his death be known at Rome *within a year from his consecration*. To quote from Dr. Todd: "There is reason to believe, therefore, that national vanity and national prejudice have

* Father Morris, of the London Oratory, has some useful remarks on this subject in his "Life of St. Patrick." Burns, 1878.

corrupted this part of the history. Facts which were true of Palladius only, have been transferred to St. Patrick, and the acts or legends of both saints mingled together in utter confusion. Palladius also was called Patrick, and was in documents (Dr. Todd, p. 308) known by the name of Patrick until about the period of the English invasion.

Some of the most important works give no mention of the mission of St. Patrick from Rome. His "Confession" does not mention it, nor in the records of his ecclesiastical education on the Continent, nor does the Hymn of St. Sechnall, or St. Fiacc, nor the Life of St. Patrick in the "Book of Armagh."

I do not find that Catholic writers "get over" the difficulty as regards the short time intervening between the coming of St. Palladius and that of St. Patrick, nor the large amount of work done in Ireland in three or four days. On the other hand, Bishop Moran, nephew of the late Cardinal Cullen, in his most excellent "Essays on the Origin, Doctrines, and Disci-

pline of the Early Irish Church," written when Vice-Rector of the Irish College in Rome, says:* "This date (432) of our Apostle's arrival is the one chief point on which all our annalists and writers are found to agree. It is expressly assigned by the "Chronicon Scotorum," the "Annals of Ulster," of "Innisfallen," of the "Four Masters," of "Marianus," &c. It is assigned by the most authentic of our records in the "Book of Armagh;" it is confirmed by all the writers of our Apostle's life, who refer his mission to the last year of St. Celestine, or to the first year of his successor Sixtus; for Celestine died in 432, and Sixtus was chosen his successor in the summer of the same year. Indeed, so universal is the testimony of our writers on this head, that Colgan, when minutely discussing each particular of St. Patrick's history, deemed it unnecessary to cite any documents in proof of it: "*Hæc sententia videtur tam indubitata et tam recepta, ut pro ea non judicaverim operæ prætium esse*

* Dublin, 1864, p. 64, 65.

producere testimonia.”* Usher repeats the same: “There is no discrepancy amongst Irish writers as to the year of St. Patrick’s mission into Ireland”;† and Dr. Lanigan was able, even in his day, to conclude that “it would be a waste of time to adduce proofs of this being the true date.”‡

Dr. Todd’s chief argument against St. Patrick’s having been at Rome and sent by the Pope rests on the absence of proof or mention in his “Confession,” or in the hymn of St. Sechnall, St. Fiacc, or the Life of St. Patrick in the “Book of Armagh.” This line of objection is boldly tackled by Bishop Moran, who replies§ that it would be absurd in so purely a devotional work as the “Confession” to look for such particulars. The hymn of St. Sechnall (in the Latin, *Secundinus*) is merely a commemoration of virtues. St. Fiacc’s hymn only commemorates a few facts, and all that St. Patrick had in common with

* “Tr. Thaummat.” p. 254.

‡ “Eccl. Hist.” i. 209.

† “Primordia,” p. 880.

§ P. 67-73.

others is passed over in silence. Bishop Moran pointedly asks, "We may, however, be permitted to ask Dr. Todd why he deems the silence of St. Fiacc of such importance regarding one fact, whilst he rejects, without ceremony, another fact which is expressly attested by the same writer. We have cited* above the beautiful passage of this hymn which records the connection of St. Patrick with Germanus; and we have also seen how St. Fiacc assigns sixty years to the missionary labours of our Apostle, who hence must have come to our island in the year 432. All this testimony, however, is declared to be valueless by Dr. Todd, whilst the silence of St. Fiacc regarding a fact which we nevertheless very naturally might expect to find omitted by him, is deemed of sufficient importance to reject that fact as groundless. This, indeed, is a novel theory in the philosophy of history."

One more forcible argument is used by Bishop Moran which sufficiently balances or

* P. 13.

overbalances in weight the attacks of Dr. Todd.

“There is one case illustrative of this matter, which we wish to recall to the mind of Dr. Todd. A few years after the death of St. Germanus, a lengthy and detailed life, commemorating his virtues, and especially his labours in rooting out Pelagianism from Britain, was written by a monk called Constantine: this life is justly regarded as one of the most precious monuments of the Church of France in the fifth century, and yet it makes no mention of the commission given to that saint by Pope Celestine. Eric of Auxerre repeated in verse the life of the same Saint Germanus, and he, too, is silent regarding that fact. Bede, too, sketches minutely that portion of Germanus’s history, but makes no allusion to his mission from Rome. Nevertheless, other monuments commemorate it; and Dr. Todd, in his late work, devotes some pages to prove, that the mere silence of these writers is a matter of no consequence, when the fact

which they omit is commemorated by other authentic monuments." If pages more were devoted to this matter it would only be of interest to antiquarians, or fanatical Irishmen to whom justice and fair play would be as nothing compared to a controversial triumph. Dr. Todd and Bishop Moran are good men and use good arguments. To have omitted altogether the subject would have been unwise, to say more would be tedious; so now we will turn once again to St. Patrick as a saintly man who was sent by the Pope to Ireland to convert a Pagan race, previous Christian attempts having been absolute failures.

It is not always wise to trust the account which people give of themselves. Human nature is strong, and poor mortals naturally wish to gloss over their misdeeds and to show themselves to the world in as favourable an aspect as possible. Saints are supposed to err in a contrary direction. They are apt to abuse themselves, to call themselves the worst of sinners, the most mean of men, unworthy of

ever gaining entrance to the presence of that God in whose service every day and hour of their lives have been passed.

As we liberally discount the good impression men wish to convey of themselves, and are rather apt to despise the individual whose mouth is always evolving pious sayings, so on the other hand we must not believe the saints when they lower themselves in their own estimation and speak as if they were the very scum of mankind.

St. Patrick late on in life wrote his "Confession," and so we have certain information from his own pen of his parentage and life.

The following is his account of himself : *

"I, Patrick, a sinner, the rudest and least of all the faithful, and the most despicable amongst men, had for my father, Calphurnius, a deacon, son of the late presbyter Potitus; he was of the town Bonavem Taberniæ, and he had a farm in the neighbourhood where I was made captive, when I was nearly sixteen years old. I knew not the true God, and I was

* Quoted by Monsignor Moran, "Essays," etc., p. 67.

carried in captivity into Ireland with a multitude of men, according to our deserts; for we had withdrawn ourselves from God, and had not kept His commandments, and were not obedient to our priests, who used to admonish us for our salvation. And the Lord brought upon us the wrath of His displeasure, and scattered us among many nations, even unto this extremity of the world, where at present my unworthiness is seen to abide amidst strangers. And there the Lord opened the sense of my unbelief, that even late I should remember my sins and be converted with my whole heart unto the Lord my God, who had regard unto my lowliness, and had compassion on my youth and ignorance, and preserved me before I knew Him, and before I could distinguish between good and evil, and protected me, and comforted me as a father would a son. . .”

He goes on to say that he was an unlearned man, “Wherefore, I thought of writing long ago, but hesitated until now for I was afraid of incurring the censure of men; because I have

not read like others who have been well imbued with sacred learning, and have never abandoned their studies from infancy, but have ever added more and more to their perfection ; but my speech and language have been exchanged for another tongue."

Various attempts have been made to settle the question of St. Patrick's birthplace, and plausible notions have been freely vented but certainty can never be attained. There is no probability that he was an Irishman ; indeed the last sentence which I have quoted above puts that question at rest, for *his* language had to be exchanged for "another tongue," namely the Irish. His father's name is Roman, and Father Jocelin,* a Cistercian Monk of Furnes, who lived in the 12th century, has no doubt as to his parentage. "There was once a man named Calphurnius, the son of Potitus a Presbyter, by nation a Briton, living in the village Taburnia (that is, the field of the Tents, for that the Roman army had there pitched

* Rothes' Jocelin's "Life of St. Patrick," edited by E. L. Swift. Dublin, 1809.

their tents) near the town of Emphor, and his habitation was nigh unto the Irish Sea. This man married a French damsel named Coneuessa, niece of the blessed Martin, Archbishop of Tours." Whether his mother was the niece of St. Martin* is problematical, but the tradition of his friendship with the sainted Bishop of Tours rests on a considerable amount of evidence.

This book is not a history of Ireland, secular or ecclesiastical, but of certain times and actions bearing on certain things, and so it is no part of my work to give a "Life of St. Patrick," but only such details as shall serve the object in view.

In A.D. 432 St. Patrick came to convert the people with whom he had been a captive slave.† Strange that in later years an assembly of Irish bishops should attribute the conquest of Ireland by Henry II, as a punishment for

* Lanigan says it is doubtful: "I have not been able to find any sufficient authority for it." In the "Tripartite Life," it is said that "Conchessa Ecbatii filia ex Francis oriunda et S. Martini soror, seu cognata, ejus mater fuit."

† Mansi, An. 1171.

their traffic in slaves! He had not been in the country more than six years before he carried into effect such an expurgation of ancient Irish literature as has most effectually extinguished much of the pre-Christian details of Irish Paganism and Pagan worship.

“The Age of Christ, 438.* The tenth year of Laeghaire. The Seanchus and Feinechus of Ireland were purified and written, the writings and old books of Ireland having been collected [and brought] to one place, at the request of St. Patrick. These were the nine supporting props by whom this was done:—Laeghaire, *i.e.*, King of Ireland, Corc, and Daire, the three Kings; Patrick, Benen, and Cairneach, the three Saints; Ross, Dubhthach, and Fearghus, the three antiquarians, as this quatrain testifies:”

“Laeghaire, Corc, Daire the stern, Patrick, Benen, Cairneach
the Just,
Ross, Dubhthach, Fearghus with goodness, the nine props
of the
Seanchus Mor.”

* “Annals of Ireland,” by the Four Masters, on year 438.

The Seanchus and Feinechus mean the History and Law.

Alas! that Christians as well as Mahometans and Pagans have wrecked, in their zeal for what they thought right, so many works of priceless value and whose loss is irreparable. If only the one great thought—that TRUTH never need fear falsehood—could prevail, how much better for the world, how gratifying to antiquarians and students.*

St. Patrick, if we may judge from the

*I do not mean to say that an "Index Expurgatorius" is not, when judiciously used, a most useful thing. For certainly Catholics, if not Christian Protestants, surely require some danger-signals hoisted when the Press is so unfettered as it is now. A book being on the "Index" may only imply that possibly one passage—possibly even a saying, is likely to do harm to the "babes in Christ." But to destroy valuable Pagan works, or to mutilate or insert clauses not in the originals, is a deplorable mode of proceeding. Fancy if Dante had been made to destroy his books, or Chaucer, because some things therein were not judicious or true! Galileo's works were on the "Index." I can imagine that for a devout Italian Catholic all of a sudden to find the whole system of the Universe turned topsy-turvy, might harm his faith; hence the "Index," but not that his works being on the "Index" should imply that his statements were false. This distinction

“Annals,” was not an Apostle after the manner of the fishermen of Galilee, he was well looked after by numerous attendants, and many a Bishop in our time would have no objection to possess such a retinue;—

“The family of Patrick of the prayers, who had good Latin, I remember; no feeble court [were they], their order, and their names.

* Sechnall, his bishop without fault; † Mochta after him his priest;

Bishop Erc ‡ his sweet-spoken judge; and Coemhan, § his chamberlain;

Sinell || his bell-ringer, and Aithcen ¶ his true Cook;

The Priest Mescan,** without evil, his friend and his brewer;

should be borne in mind by fair-minded Protestants, and also, alas, by bigoted Catholics.

* “Sanctus enim *Secundinus* Episcopus, fuit ipsius Vicarius in spiritualibus et suffraganeus.”—*Evinus*, “Trias. Thaum.” p. 167, col. 1.

† “Sanctus Mocteus fuit ejus Archi-præbyter.”—*Evinus*.

‡ “Sanctus Ercus, Episcopus, Cancellarius, et supremus judex in spiritualibus.”—*Evinus*.

§ “Sanctus Coemanus de Kill-Choemain, Cubicularius.” *Evinus*.

|| In the Book of Lecan he is called “Sinell of Killairis, his Ostiarius.”

¶ This charming Cook is the patron-saint of the Church of Badoney, in the valley of Gleann-Aichle, near Strabane, co. Tyrone.

** *Evinus* calls him *Cerviciarius*.

The Priest Bescna, sweet his verses, the chaplain of the son
of Alprann.

His three smiths, expert at shaping, Macecht, Laebhean, and
Fortchern.

His three artificers, of great endowment, Aesbuite, Tairill
and Tasach.

His three embroiderers, not despicable, Lupaid, Erca, and
Cruimthiris.

Odhran, his charioteer, without blemish, Rodan, son of
Braga, his shepherd.

Ippis, * Tigris, and Erca, and Liamhain, with Eibeachta :

For them Patrick excelled in wonders, for them he was truly
miraculous,

Carniuch was the priest that baptized him; † German his
tutor, without blemish,

The priest Manach, of great endowment was his man for
supplying wood.

His sister's son was Banban of fame; Martin his mother's
brother.

Most sapient was the youth Mochonnoc, his hospitaller.

Cribri and Lasra, of mantles, beautiful daughters of Gleaghrawn,
Macraith the wise, and Erc, he prophesied in his three wills.

Brogan, the scribe of his school; the priest Logha, his
helmsman,—

It is not a thing unsung,—and Machui his true foster-son.

Good the man whose great family they were, to whom God
gave a crozier without sorrow;

* Lanigan in his History says these five women were
spiritual not carnal sisters of St. Patrick.

† St. Germanus is in all the "Lives of St. Patrick" called
his Tutor.

Chiefs with whom the bells are heard, a good family was the family of Patrick.

May the Trinity, which is powerful over all, distribute to us the boon of great love:

The King who, moved by soft Latin, redeemed by Patrick's prayer."

I do not pretend to know if St. Patrick really had around him the officials described, or whether they were simply those bound to him by love or partly by office. Certainly if he made up his mind to convert the Pagan chiefs of Ireland, it is probable that he would seek to impress them with the dignity of his office, as well as that of the Faith he came to teach.

Father Morris makes a remark in his very readable History of St. Patrick,* that "A great part of the record of the Saint's apostolate reads like an account of an ordinary bishop's visitation of his diocese." I propose, therefore,† to give first of all the well-known (to

* Burns. 1878.

† He is said to have built 365 churches, consecrated nearly as many bishops, and ordained 3000 priests. (See Abbé MacGeoghegan, "Hist. of Ireland.")

Irishmen) account of his meeting with King Laeghaire at Tara, which was simply magnificent; then a very touching account of the conversion of some young maidens, which will be an exact opposite of the Tara meeting; then a plain but distinct proof of the devotional belief and teaching of St. Patrick; and, lastly, some important proofs of the subordination of all he did to Rome.

There was a royal prohibition that on a certain day no fire should be lit on hill or hearth.* Of this prohibition it is possible St. Patrick may not have known; be that as it may, on the evening in question, St. Patrick lit his Paschal fire upon the Hill of Slane. As De Vere † has charmingly described it:—

“Yet Patrick has lighted his Paschal fire
At Slane—it is holy Saturday—
And bless'd his font 'mid the chaunting choir!
From hill to hill the flame makes way.”

Laeghaire swore vengeance against the bold

* In connection with the Pagan fire-worship then in vogue in Ireland.

† “Legends of St. Patrick,” by Aubrey de Vere. Henry S. King and Co., 1872 (p. 26).

foreigner, and was backed up by the Druids, who prophetically declared the conquering mission of the Saint. Undaunted the Saint goes forth :

“ Then forth to Tara he fared full lowly :
The Staff of Jesus was in his hand :
Twelve priests paced after him, chaunting slowly,
Printing their steps on the dewy land.
It was the Resurrection morn ;
The lark sang loud o'er the springing corn ;
The dove was heard, and the hunter's horn.
* * * * *
They enter'd the circle ;* their hymn they ceased ;
The Druids their eyes bent earthward still :
On Patrick's brow the glory increased,
As a sunshine brightening some breathless hill.
The warriors sat silent: strange awe they felt:
The chief bard, Dubtach, rose and knelt !
Then Patrick discoursed of the things to be
When time gives way to eternity,
Of kingdoms that fall, which are dreams not things,
And the Kingdom built by the King of kings.
Of Him he spake who reigns from the Cross ;
Of the death which is life, and the life which is loss ;
How all things were made by the Infant Lord,
And the small hand the Magian kings adored.
His voice sounded on like a throbbing flood
That swells all night from some far-off wood,
And when it was ended—that wondrous strain—
Invisible myriads breathed ‘ Amen ! ’ ”

* The Druidical circle.

The action of the visible on the invisible is followed by the awe-struck animal and vegetable world at the first great onslaught on Satan's hitherto undisputed reign :—

“ While he spake, men say that the reflux tide
On the shore by Colpa ceased to sink ;
They say the white deer by Mulla's side
O'er the green marge bending forbore to drink :
That the Brandon eagle forgot to soar ;
That no leaf stirr'd in the wood by Lee.
Such stupor hung the island o'er,
For none might guess what the end would be.”

The King, what with the bold aspect of the Saint, the silence of the world around him, the feeling of the invisible working on him, is cowed :—

“ Then whisper'd the King to a chief close by,
' It were better for me to believe than die !'
Yet the King believed not ; but ordinance gave
That whoso would might believe that word :
So the meek believed, and the wise, and brave,
And Mary's Son as their God adored.
And the Druids, because they could answer nought,
Bow'd down to the Faith the stranger brought.”

The next victory of St. Patrick is taken from the “ Tripartite Life of St. Patrick.” I am

indebted to Father Morris's book for the following translation* of it:—

“ Patrick went afterwards to the fountain—*i.e.*, Clibech—on the slopes of Cruachan at Sunrise. Laeghaire M'Niell's two daughters, Ethne the Fair, and Feidelm the Red, went early to the Fountain to wash their hands, as they were wont to do, when they found the synod of clerics at the well, with white garments, and their books before them. They wondered at the appearance of the clerics, and imagined they were *fir-sidhe*, or phantoms. They questioned Patrick,—‘ Whence are you, and whither (*sic*) have you come? Is it from the *sidhe*? Are you gods?’

“ Patrick said to them, ‘ It would be better for you to believe in God than to ask regarding our race.’ The elder daughter said, ‘ Who is your God, and in what place is He—in heaven, or in earth? Is it under the earth, or on the earth, or in the seas, or in streams, or in hills,

* “ Life of St. Patrick,” by W. B. Morris, Priest of the Oratory, 2nd edit, p. 104. London: Burns and Oates. 1878.

or in valleys? Has He sons or daughters? Has He gold and silver? Is there a profusion of every good in His kingdom? Tell us plainly how we shall see Him, and how He is to be loved, and how He is to be found? Is He young or old, or is He ever-living? Is He beautiful, or have many fostered His son, or is His daughter handsome, and dear to men of the world?' St. Patrick, full of the Holy Spirit, responded: 'Our God is the God of all; the God of heaven and earth, the God of seas and the rivers, the God of the sun and moon, and of all the other planets; the God of the high hills and low valleys; God over heaven, in heaven, and under heaven; and He has a mansion, *i.e.*, heaven—and the earth, and the sea, and all that are in them. He inspireth all things; He quickeneth all things; He enkindleth all things; He giveth light to the sun and to the moon. He created fountains in the dry land, and placed dry islands in the sea, and stars to minister to the greater lights. He hath a Son co-eternal and co-equal with

Himself; and the Son is not younger than the Father, nor is the Father older than the Son. And the Holy Ghost breatheth in them; and the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost are not divided. I desire, moreover, to unite you to the Son of the heavenly King, for ye are daughters of an earthly king.' And the daughters said, as if with one mouth and heart, 'How shall we come to believe in that King? Teach us duly that we may see the Lord face to face—teach us and we will do as you will say to us.' And Patrick said, 'Do you believe that through baptism the sin of your mother and of your father shall be put away from you?' They answered, 'We believe.' 'Do you believe in repentance after sin?' 'Yes.' And they were baptized, and Patrick blessed a white veil upon their heads, and they desired to see Christ face to face. And Patrick said to them, 'You cannot see Christ except that you first taste death, and unless you receive the body of Christ and His blood.' And the daughters replied, saying, 'Give us the com-

munion, that we may be able to see the Prophesied One.' And they after this received the communion, and fell asleep in death, and Patrick placed them under one covering, and in one bed [grave], and their friends made great lamentation over them"—("Tripartite Life," p. 407).

Of course this account must be looked at with the devotional, not critical eye. If the anecdote was seriously put forward as true, and an example to be copied, then one is at a loss to know the difference between a true faith and credulity. But the striking feature of the story is that there was a blank to be filled up; that these young Irish maidens required a God who was a man, who was perfect, who was beautiful, who was Divine. The Druids had none such to offer them. St. Patrick was the first man whom they had come across who could satisfy their craving for a God-Man. He spoke with authority, "and not as the Scribes."

St. Patrick was not a Protestant, if the supposed Protestantism of the year A.D. 432 is at

all kindred to that of 1878. The following "Lorica," as it was called, is a production of the Saint, and is said to have been composed by him when on the way to Tara to meet Laeghaire. Parts of it are still used by the Irish peasantry.

ST. PATRICK'S LORICA.*

I bind to myself to-day

The strong virtue of the Invocation of the Trinity,
The Faith of the Trinity in unity,
The Creator of the elements.

I bind to myself to-day

The virtue of the Incarnation of Christ with His Baptism,
The virtue of His Crucifixion with His burial,
The virtue of His Resurrection with His Ascension,
The virtue of His coming to the sentence of judgment.

I bind to myself to-day

The virtue of the love of seraphim,
In the obedience of angels,
In the hope of resurrection into reward,
In prayers of Patriarchs,
In predictions of Prophets,
In preaching of Apostles,
In faith of Confessors,
In purity of holy Virgins,
In deeds of righteous men.

* Several translations have been made. I take this from that quoted by the Nun of Kenmare in her "Life of St. Patrick." Aubrey De Vere's is one of the best in his "Legends of St. Patrick."

I bind to myself to-day
The power of Heaven,
The light of the sun,
The whiteness of snow,
The force of fire,
The flashing of lightning,
The swiftness of wind,
The depth of sea,
The stability of earth,
The hardness of rocks.

I bind to myself to-day
The power of God to guide me,
The might of God to uphold me,
The wisdom of God to teach me,
The eye of God to watch over me,
The ear of God to hear me,
The word of God to give me speech,
The hand of God to protect me,
The way of God to lie before me,
The shield of God to shelter me,
The host of God to defend me,
Against the snares of demons,
Against the temptations of vices,
Against the lusts of nature,
Against every man who meditates injury to me,
Whether far or near,
Whether few or with many.

I have invoked all these virtues
Against every hostile savage power
Directed against my body and my soul,
Against the incantations of false prophets,
Against the black laws of heathenism,

Against the false laws of heresy,
Against the deceits of idolatry,
Against the spells of women, and smiths and druids,
Against all knowledge which blinds the soul of man.

Christ protect me to-day

Against poison, against burning,
Against drowning, against wound,
That I may receive abundant reward.

Christ with me, Christ before me,

Christ behind me, Christ within me,
Christ beneath me, Christ above me,
Christ at my right, Christ at my left,
Christ in the fort,
Christ in the chariot seat,
Christ in the poop,
Christ in the heart of every man who thinks of me.
Christ in the mouth of every man who speaks to me.
Christ in every eye that sees me,
Christ in every ear that hears me,

I bind to myself to-day

The strong virtue of an invocation of the Trinity,
The faith of the Trinity in Unity,
The Creator of elements.

Domini est salus

Domini est salus,

Christi est salus,

Salus tua Domine sit semper nobiscum.

A good deal of suspicion rests as to the authorship of St. Patrick to many works graced with his name, but when such a writer as Todd asserts that certain documents re-

ferred to him are any way of *Pagan* date then there is good cause to believe that the tradition is not so very far out. "Of the other works attributed to St. Patrick," he says, "the most celebrated are the Synods, or ecclesiastical canons, published under his name, in the great Collections of the Councils. It is scarcely possible, however, to receive these Canons as really his, although some of them were certainly written during the predominance of Paganism in the country; but others bear internal evidence of a much later date. The Synod said to have been held by Patrick, Auxilius and Iserninus has better claims to antiquity than the rest."* There is, however, a concensus of Irish proof as to the Patrician date of certain very important canons that cannot be easily refuted or ignored. St. Patrick's mission from Rome has been doubted; in mere consistency, therefore, some sceptics desire to extend their criticism so as to embrace certain Canons which distinctly prove

* Todd's "St. Patrick," p. 485.

the Saint's subjection to Rome and his inculcation of that subjection on the Irish priesthood and Church. In the statute of St. Patrick preserved in the most ancient "Book of Armagh" is the following enactment :*

"Item quæcumque causa valde difficilis exorta fuerit atque ignota cunctis Scotorum gentium iudicibus ad cathedram archiepiscopi Hibernensium (id est Patricii) atque hujus antistitis examinationem recte referenda. Si vero in illa cum suis sapientibus facile sanari non poterit talis caussa prædictæ negotiationis, ad Sedem Apostolicam decrevimus esse mittendum, id est ad Petri apostoli cathedram auctoritatem Romæ urbis habentem.

"Hi sunt qui de hoc decreverunt id est, Auxilius, Patricius, Secundinus, Benignus."

The famous Usher thus translates it :†

"Wherever any cause that is very difficult

* Curry's Lectures, p. 372 ; Petrie, " Essay on the History and Antiquities of Tara Hill." Dublin, 1839, p. 81 ; and quoted by Bishop Moran on p. 121 of his " Essays," etc.

† P. 84 of his " Dissertation on the Religion of the Ancient Irish."

and unknown unto all the judges of the Scottish nations shall arise, it is rightly to be referred to the see of the archbishop of the Irish (that is to say, of Patrick), and to the examination of the prelate thereof. But if *there*, by him and his wise men, a cause of this nature cannot easily be made up, we have decreed it shall be sent to the See Apostolic—that is to say, to the chair of the apostle Peter, which hath the authority of the city of Rome.”

Usher’s comments are as generous and wise as they are striking when coming from such an authority in the Protestant Church. “It is most likely that St. Patrick had a special regard for the Church of Rome, from whence he was sent for the conversion of this island: so as, if I myself had lived in his days, for the resolution of a doubtful question, I should as willingly have listened to the judgment of the Church of Rome, as to the determination of any church in the whole world: so reverent an estimation have I of the integrity of that Church as it stood in those days.”*

* Bishop Moran’s “Essays,” p. 121.

If in those early days when Rome was not the only *Apostolic* See, Usher would have paid her such respect and felt such admiration for her judgment, how much more would he be disposed to do so now that she is not only the Apostolic See of the West, but the only Apostolic See which has a direct unbroken succession from an Apostle of Jesus Christ! Well has Dr. Newman shown how Rome in the natural apart from the supernatural order has been the guiding See of Christendom. "It was not his fault (the Pope's) that the Vandals swept away the African Sees, and the Saracens those of Syria and Asia Minor, or that Constantinople and its dependencies became the creatures of Imperialism, or that France, England, and Germany should obey none but the author of their own Christianity, or that clergy and people at a distance were obstinate in sheltering themselves under the majesty of Rome against their own fierce kings and nobles or imperious bishops, even to the imposing forgeries on the world and on the Pope in

justification of their proceedings. All this will be fact, whether the Popes were ambitious or not; and still it will be fact that the issue of that great change was a great benefit to the whole of Europe. No one but a Master, who was a thousand bishops in himself at once, could have tamed and controlled, as the Pope did, the great and little tyrants of the middle age.”*

But to return to St. Patrick. The ancient MS. in which this decree is preserved was transcribed in A.D. 807, and the original which was copied was believed to be written by St. Patrick. A Synod was held in A.D. 630, and at this Synod, which was not so very far removed from St. Patrick's lifetime, the above decree *was acted on*. Furthermore, an Irish saint, Cummián, who was there present, wrote four years later a letter on the paschal question, and in that letter says, “in accordance with the canonical decree, that if questions of grave moment arise, they shall be referred to the

* “Letter to the Duke of Norfolk.” Pickering, p. 30, 1875.

head of cities, we sent such as we knew were wise and humble men to Rome.”*

Less than 100 years after this synod another was held, in which a collection of canons was made, and amongst the canonical exactments which it registers is the identical decree of St. Patrick.

“Patritius ait: si quæ difficiles quæstiones in hac insula oriantur ad Sedem Apostolicam referantur.”

“St. Patrick defines: should any grave controversies arise in this island, they shall be referred to the Apostolic See.”

This sufficiently confirms the fact that St. Patrick was, to use Titus Oates’s phraseology, a “Papal Emissary.” Many more proofs are given by Monsignor Moran which the curious or doubting reader can refer to, but sufficient has been said to satisfy all ordinary minds.

Although not connected with the subject in view, it is curious to observe that the 6th Canon of St. Patrick recognizes the rela-

* Usher, “Syllog. Epp.” No. 30, quoted by Mgr. Moran.

tion of the "clericus et uxor ejus." Reeves in his valuable notes to Adamnan's "Life of St. Columba," says* "Marriage was not confined to the inferior orders. When St. Patrick required a *damna n-epyrup* (materies episcopi) 'a man fitted for the episcopal office,' to be placed over the Lagenians, he asked for a person who among other qualifications was 'a man of one wife.'" ("Lib. Armac." fol. 18, *a. b.*)

St. Patrick apparently was quite satisfied with the religious state of Ireland in his time, at least his explanation of a vision of St. Brigid affirms as much. I will let the old Monk of Furnes tell the tale himself.† "And the Blessed Brigida was at these meetings (St. Patrick's sermons); and at one, having reclined her head, she slept: and the Holy Prelate forbade that any one should arouse the beloved of God, until she herself would awaken: so did it appear how evidently

* P. 344.

† Jocelin's "Life of St. Patrick." Dublin, 1809, p. 133. Swift's trans.

what is said in the Canticles agreed with her:—I sleep, but mine heart waketh; for that his heavenly spouse revealed unto her all his mysteries. And when the Holy Virgin awaked, he enjoined her that she should tell unto them all, what she had beheld in her Vision. And she, obeying the command of the Saint, said: ‘I beheld an assembly of persons clothed in white raiment; and I beheld ploughs, and oxen, and standing corn, all white, and immediately they became all spotted, and afterward they became all black;—and in the end I beheld sheep and swine, dogs and wolves fighting all and contending together.’ Then St. Patrick expounded the Vision, and said that the whiteness pertained unto the state of the world, as it then was: for all the Prelates and servants of the Church were then fruitful and diligent in faith and good works, even according to the Evangelic and Apostolic doctrine. And the things which were spotted, belonged, as he said, to the time of the succeeding generation, which would be

pure in faith, but stained with evil works. And the blackness, he said, was the season of the following generation, when the world would be profaned, not only with evil works, but with the renunciation of the Christian faith. And the contest of the sheep and the swine, of the dogs and the wolves, he pronounced to be the controversy of the pure and impure Prelates, of good and of bad men, which, after the lapse of many years, would at length come to pass. And having said, he departed; now that the Vision of the Virgin and the interpretation of the Saint are proved by indisputable truths, no one, I think, will doubt."

As Jocelin, Cistercian Monk of Furnes, lived in the early part of the 12th century, it is pretty evident that his view of things was not very charming in the reign of Henry II of England, although the said King thought it compatible to reform the Irish Church and to murder the Archbishop of Canterbury! Even if as is probable the Virgin's prophecy did refer to Ireland only,

still a corrupt Ireland by no means necessarily implies an immaculate England, any more than in our time Englishmen can with any justice sneer at landlord-shooting in Ireland when in their own cities hardly a week passes but some ruffianly villain jumps on his wife and gouges out her eyes, she very probably being at that time a mother.

St. Brigid had an awkward knack of saying unpleasant things while in the prophetic vein. Froude has chosen one such saying as a heading for one of his chapters of what he is pleased to call, History.

In the reign of Edward IV was a man who wrote a book called "*De Salute Populi*," who was called the Pander. Froude quotes from the "*State of Ireland and Plan for its Reformation, 1515, State Papers*," Vol. II, p. 11, the following :—

"The Pander sheweth in the first chapter of his book, called '*Salus Populi*,' that the holy woman, Brigitta, used to inquire of her good angel many questions of secrets divine ;

and among all other she inquired, ‘Of what Christian land was most souls damned?’ The angel showed her a land in the west part of the world. She inquired the cause why? The angel said, for there is most continual war, root of hate and envy, and of vices contrary to charity; and without charity the souls cannot be saved. And the angel did show to her the lapse of the souls of Christian folk of that land, how they fell down into hell as thick as any hail showers. And pity thereof moved the Pander to conceive his said book, as in the said chapter plainly doth appear; for after his opinion, this (Ireland) is the land that the angel understood; for there is no land in this world of so continued war within itself; ne of so great shedding of Christian blood, ne of so great robbing, spoiling, preying, and burning; ne of so great extortion continually, as Ireland.”

Leaving visions, it will be more satisfactory perhaps if we refer once again to authorities and see if the prophecy of St. Brigid as

interpreted by St. Patrick be true, for the mere fact that St. Patrick built 365 churches and ordained 3000 priests need not imply national improvement.* It is said by many men that the inroad of the Danes was a judgment of God on the Irish for their blood-guiltiness. An indirect reply is made somewhat as follows :—Look at the state of Ireland after it was Christianized by St. Patrick, at the glorious Catena of Saints, at the numberless churches, the countless monasteries dotted over the land, at the swarms of students who came not only from England, but from France and Germany, to imbibe that learning of which Ireland seemed to have the monopoly. Has not

* St. Patrick required so many priests for his missions that after completing his Metropolitan City of Armagh he had in A.D. 447 to get additional aid from Britain, and came back with thirty ecclesiastics whom he made bishops. This invasion of Ireland is not generally noticed by historians. (See Usher, "Primord. Eccl. Brit.," c. 15, p. 642-3.) The "Four Masters" give A.D. 457 as that in which Armagh was founded, but the "Annals of Ulster" say 444, and this latter date agrees with St. Patrick's quest for priests in A.D. 447.

Dr. Newman said, "The seventh and eighth centuries are the glory of the Anglo-Saxon Church, as are the sixth and seventh of the Irish?"* Has he not quoted Döllinger,† of German reputation, as likewise bearing witness to the state of Christian Ireland? Doubtless; but St. Brigid shakes her head, and history if looked at carefully, proves that the greatest sanctity in individuals, the greatest learning

* "The Isles of the North," in Vol. I of "Historical Sketches."

† "During the sixth and seventh centuries the Church of Ireland stood in the full beauty of its bloom. The spirit of the Gospel operated amongst the people with a vigorous and vivifying power; troops of holy men, from the highest to the lowest ranks of society, obeyed the counsel of Christ and forsook all things, that they might follow Him. There was not a country of the world, during this period, which could boast of pious foundations or religious communities equal to those that adorned this far distant island. Among the Irish, the doctrines of the Christian Religion were preserved pure and entire; the names of heresy or of schism were not known to them; and in the Bishop of Rome they acknowledged and venerated the Supreme Head of the Church on earth, and continued with him, and through him with the whole Church, in a never interrupted communion. The schools in the Irish cloisters were at this time the most celebrated in all the West, and in addition to those which have been already mentioned, there flourished the schools of St. Finian of

in Colleges is quite compatible with a thoroughly rotten state of public opinion, of public action, of national morals.

I now say adieu to St. Patrick and turn to a consideration of the state of Christianity after his mission and before the Danish invasions. A time which many historians consider the golden period of Irish History.

Clonard, founded in 530, and those of Cataldus, founded in 640. Whilst almost the whole of Europe was desolated by war, peaceful Ireland, free from the invasions of external foes, opened to the lovers of learning and piety a welcome asylum. The strangers who visited the island, not only from the neighbouring shores of Britain, but also from the most remote nations of the Continent, received from the Irish people the most hospitable reception, a gratuitous entertainment, free instruction, and even the books that were necessary for their studies. Thus in the year 536, in the time of St. Senanus, there arrived at Cork, from the Continent, fifteen monks, who were led thither by their desire to perfect themselves in the practices of an ascetic life under Irish directors, and to study the Sacred Scriptures in the school established near that city. At a later period, after the year 650, the Anglo-Saxons in particular passed over to Ireland in great numbers for the same laudable purposes. On the other hand, many holy and learned Irishmen left their own country to proclaim the faith, to establish or to reform monasteries in distant lands, and thus to become the benefactors of almost every nation in Europe."

CHAPTER IV.

PRE-DANISH CHRISTIANITY.

THE fearful slaughter of Irish kings one after another in pre-Christian times was, in a sense, excusable, for the race was Pagan, but after the advent of St. Patrick and the consecration of endless bishops and founding of colleges and monasteries all over the country, it would be supposed that murder and bloodshed would cease. St. Brigid was, alas! a true prophet, for but little improvement is visible. At the risk of tiring the patience of my readers, I give concisely a list of the Kings of Ireland from St. Patrick's time till the advent of the Danes, with their fate. It will impress them with the fact that the ancient race *required conquering* and also required a religious authority backed by a

head who could *command*, to counteract the bloodthirsty tendency of the old race of Pagans, whose Christianity was certainly more theoretical than practical.

Lægarius* reigned 35 years and was slain in battle 463.

Ailil Molt, reigned 20 years, slain by his successor in battle 483.

Lugdath killed by a thunderbolt 508.

Moriertac died from drink 534.

Thuathal killed 544.

Dermot killed 565.

Donald I killed 566. (Fergus co-reigned with him.)

Amirach killed 569.

Beotan }
Eochan } killed 572.

Edan killed 598.

Edan II killed 604.

Edan III died 612.

Melcob killed 615.

* "Ware's Antiquities," first English Edition, page 11.
London. 1705.

Suibne killed 628.

Donald II died peaceably in old age 642.

Cellac } died } 658.

Conall } killed } 654.

Dermot II }
Blathmac } died of plague 665.

Secnesac killed 671.

Cœnselad killed 675.

Finsa (Finacta) killed 695.

Loingsecus killed 703.

Congall died suddenly 710.

Fergall killed 722.

Fogertach O Cernaig killed 724.

Cinæd killed 728.

Flachertac became a monk.

Edan IV killed 743.

Donald III died on a pilgrimage 763.

Neal Frassac died 778.

Donagh killed 787.

Edan V killed 819.

Flan died 916.

About this time the Danes were troublesome, and so violent deaths were to be

expected. The Abbé MacGeoghegan feels that an apology is needed, but he is not very successful.*

“When we consider the advantages which the Scoto-Milesians enjoyed with respect to religion and the sciences, in the first ages of Christianity, could we suppose them not to have possessed, likewise, cultivated minds and polished manners? The sciences which enlighten and ornament the understanding, flourished amongst them more than in any other nation. That Christian morality which regulates the motions of the heart, formed men among them who were celebrated for the sanctity of their morals. Notwithstanding these advantages, an astonishing mixture of vice and virtue was discoverable among them, and as a certain author remarks, ‘they were ardent in everything, whether good or evil.’ ‘In omnes affectus vehementissimi.’ Whilst one part of that people devoted themselves to God, by renouncing all intercourse with the

* Vol. I, p. 519. Dublin. 1831.

world, and thereby served as a model to the neighbouring nations: the spirit of discord was still kept up, either by the tyranny of their princes, the ambition of their nobles, or the frequent revolts of their subjects. Instead of preserving their conquests abroad, and enforcing the tribute which their Pagan ancestors had imposed on the Picts, the inhabitants of the Orkneys, Hebrides, and the Isle of Man, they were always in arms, one against another, and the Gospel which they had just received with so much respect, was not able to remove that spirit of discord which was the cause of such disorders."

Thus writes the Abbé who with warm Irish blood in his veins could not blind himself to the facts of history. He published his work in 1758 under the authority of the King of France, and dedicated it to the Irish Brigade. Another priest, also an Irishman, and what renders his testimony the more striking, a monk of the Franciscan Order, has given a plain unvarnished statement of the effect the study

of Irish History has had on him. I allude to Father Peter Walsh's "History of Ireland," A.D. 1680.

He writes thus of the Irish people *before* they were converted:* "However, I must confess that when I reflect on the most authentick Monuments of that Nation, as written by their own most select Antiquaries, and believed by themselves: I am absorpt in admiration, at the wonderful patience of God with them in particular, above all other People that I have read of, expecting their amendment so long, that is, well nigh 3000 years compleat, before he would quite destroy them. A period so large, that within a far less extent of time, his wrath subverted utterly the Assyrian, Chaldean, Median, Persian, Macedonian, Roman Empires, and all the Republicks of Europe and Affric, and all other Kingdoms or Dominions, how great or how little soever anywhere on earth; whereof we

* P. 74. I preserve his spelling, and names of kings and places.

have but the least competent knowledge out of ancient History, or other authentick book. And yet He continued still the *Irish* Nation and Monarchy beyond that extent of time. And yet 'tis no less apparent in their own Chronicles, that according to the judgment of man, they had as little deserved the mercy of God as any of their Neighbours, or other the destroy'd Nations.

“For to lay aside their Idolatry, and all the appendants of it, which yet among them in their time of Paganism, were as great and horrible, and provoking of Heaven as anywhere else in the world: and to pass over also those other Immoralities of theirs, how enormous soever in the sight of God, which were nevertheless but common to them with other Nations, reputed the most civil among men: certainly (if not among Cannibals, or Lestrignons, or such other Monsters, unworthy to be called men, or at least to be brought in comparison with any People that make use of reason, live in society and approve Govern-

ment) never has any other Nation upon Earth anneer'd the *Milesian* race (inhabiting *Ireland*) in the most unnatural, bloody, everlasting destructive Feuds that have ever been heard, or can well be imagin'd. Feuds so prodigiously bloody, that as they were first founded, so they still encreased and continued in blood, even along from the first foundation of the *Irish* Monarchy in the blood of Heber Shed in Battel by his Brother Herimon, until the slaughter of Muirchiortach mhac Neill (the last reputed Monarch saving one) by the hands of Fearr-nibh Fearrnhaighe, and O'Brian, or even until the death of Diarmuid na Ngall (the last King of Leinster) at his Town of Ferns. And yet such Feuds as not only had for necessary concomitants the greatest pride, most hellish ambition, and cruellest desires of revenge ; but also had for no less necessary consequents, the most horrible Injustices, Oppressions, Extortions, Rapins, Desolations of the Countrey, Perfidiousnesses, Treasons,

Rebellions, Conspiracies, Treacheries, Murders; and all this from time to time, for six and twenty hundred years, only a very few lucid intervals of the frenzy excepted. . . . Never have we heard of any other Countrey on Earth, so frequently, so miserably, beyond almost all belief afflicted, harassed, wasted, turn'd into a wilderness, by the accursed Pride of her Nobles, Tyranny of her Princes, Rebellion of her subjects, Fury of her Men at arms, and other Souldiers, Preying, Sacking, Burning all that stood over ground in the Provinces invaded by them. Never has either book or man told us of any Region besides *Ireland*, that beheld so many of her beautiful Field's turn'd ruddy, all cover'd with the bloody gore of above 600 Battels fought on 'em so cruelly and unnaturally by her own children of the same Language, Lineage, Religious rites, tearing out the lives of one another partly for dominion, and often for meer revenge. Never has the Sun bestowed his light on any other Land, to

behold a hundred and eighteen Monarchs slaughter'd by the hands of their own disloyal Native subjects ; four and twenty of them in Battel, and the rest by downright Assassination and Murder. And which is yet more hideous, four score and six of them succeeded immediately in their Regal Thrones by those very men that so villanously had dispatch'd them. Nay, and a Brother, and a Son also to be in this number : besides a wicked Sister too, that by the priviledge of her Sex more finely indeed, but I am sure no less impiously adding one more to the former number of Royal Victims ; and this of purpose to make way for her own Son to mount the Throne, bereav'd of life the Monarch Criomb-than mhac Fiodhuigh, her own Brother, with a cup of Poyson ministred by her own hand to him."

One is almost inclined to think after reading the reverend Father's denunciations that if some of those numerous Saints who born in Ireland thought proper to leave it and give

their services to other parts of Europe had turned their attention to the misdoings of their own relations* it would have been more useful, though perhaps less romantic. Possibly Palladius saw with a keen eye the uselessness of attempting single-handed to Christianize such a blood-thirsty and blood-guilty race. Anyhow we begin to see that so long as the old inhabitants of Ireland remained in undisturbed possession, so long would religion be confined to monasteries and nunneries and colleges, while Pagan morals and customs maintained undisturbed possession of the lay element. It may very possibly be said by some ardent maintainer† of Old Ireland's

* Dr. Newman speaking of Irish Saints who left their country, observes, "if these holy men were not, and could not be, indifferent to their countrymen, was not the state of the case really this, that their countrymen were indifferent to them? And St. Bernard seems to answer our question in the affirmative."—P. 282, Vol. I, 2nd edit. of "Historical Sketches."

† Those who constitute themselves defenders not only of Ireland's good points, but her bad, are frequently observed to be descended from Normans or English settlers, and conse-

glories that after St. Patrick's time and till the arrival of the Danes, Ireland was the land of Saints. Granted, a land of Saints, but also a land of most undeniable cut-throats, and if the critic begs for an eulogium for his Saints he may also expect the far more ominous spectacle of a blood-bespattered country to be shown for his admiration. Our Franciscan Monk shall once again come forward and tell us his opinion of Ireland during the time of the superabundance of Sainted Monks and Nuns, and before the foot of Dane or Northman had polluted her virgin soil.

“But* that which in this whole account of their Battels fought, and Monarchs kill'd by their own Natives, must be not only strange, but astonishing is, that the fury extended even to many Ages of Christianity,

quently are not the least called on to defend the OLD Irish. The origin of my own name is pure Milesian and is found constantly in the “Annals,” but it is no proof of patriotism to be ready to defend what is wrong.

* P. 83.

or rather indeed in a very great measure to the whole extent or duration of their being a free People. In the very first four hundred years of Christian Religion flourishing in Ireland so conspicuously, as we have seen before, with Myriads of holy Professors, yet their Princes and Nobles, and other Martial men were as furiously given to the destruction of one another as their ancestors had been in the time of Paganism."

He goes on to say that nearly all the kings from St. Patrick's time to that of Aodh Ordnigh were murdered or killed in battle, and recounts the wretched state produced by this incessant civil war. "So* that besides infinite depredations, wastings, burnings of the Countrey, besides the endless harrassing of the poor Peasants; and even sometime the violating of Sanctuaries, and burning of Churches, and killing of Clergymen, and Priests, and Bishops too for company; besides lesser Fights and

* P. 85.

skirmishes without number: you may read in Keting about 58 main Battels fought between their Princes, Kings, and Monarchs, within that period of time: a period that wanted seven or eight years of 400."

What seems the more grievous is that these bloody feuds so frequently arose from the most trivial or even absurd trifles. What, for example, can be thought of the common sense of men who can act as Father Walsh thus describes: * "An arbitration between two religious Monks in a difference, deciding against one of them, must engage Families and Countrys in Arms, to fight out in Battel, and cut one another in pieces. A known Murtherer proscrib'd as unpardonable by their most sacred Laws, and therefore justly put to death by the Monarch, must nevertheless, on pretence of his being seiz'd upon after he had been received into the protection of an Abbot, be a just cause of rebelling and fighting that very Monarch, and

* Sect. iv. p. 125.

killling his whole Army to boot. Nay, one single Beast, a Cow, at most but very little worth, taken away I know not how from the owner, was the only cause of a great Battel fought between the same Monarch and the Provincial King of Connaught, and a Battel wherein most of the Gentry of that Province, and Mounster too were kill'd. As if neither the Assailant nor Defendant, 'tho Christian Kings both, could find any other way to satisfie the poor Woman that was rob'd of that Cow."

A still more ludicrous cause of quarrel in times farther back was the incident which happened to the Monarch Cormack Ulfada's beard. An entertainment was given in Maig-Breag by a King of Ulster (Giolla) and he snuffing a candle, instead of throwing it aside, threw it by chance or on purpose into Cormack's long beard, which immediately fizzed up. Will it be believed that the *great grand-child* of this Cormack made it a pretence to pour an army of 21,000 men into Ulster,

and conquer as much as he could for himself!

After thus describing the weak points of Irish sinners, it is only just that the Saints should come before the tribunal of History, especially as we shall see that the walls of the monastery did not materially change the character of the inmates, at least not in all cases. What better chance of seeing the influence of an Irish Saint (in the old days before Rome * canonized those considered worthy) than by finding out what History relates of one whom Scotland as well as Ireland is proud to acknowledge as one of their patrons, St. Columba? Here was a notable chief of the spiritual order, a carrier-out of St. Patrick's programme, a Saint who lived in the days when the theft of a cow caused rivers of blood to flow—let us see how the old Saint managed his wild Celts—what steps he took

* It is necessary that this be remembered, for I certainly should not dream of comparing the acts of a duly canonized Saint with one popularly in an uncritical age saluted as such.

to spread far and near the sweet charity of the Cross of Christ.

In the "*Life of St. Columba*,"* written by Adamnan (who was ninth abbot of Hy which was founded by Columba) and edited with copious notes by one of the greatest of modern antiquarians, Dr. Reeves, will be found abundant matter connected with the Life of the Saint. A few persons of more audacity than wisdom have tried to evade the force of authentic narratives recorded by contemporary and near witnesses and edited by the best scholars of the day; such attempts deserve the ridicule they will meet with by all educated men. So much it is almost necessary to say for the benefit and warning of those who are offered unhistorical, spurious, hot-house lives which are expurgated to suit the palate of the devotional-minded Christian

* "*Life of St. Columba*," by Adamnan, with copious Notes and Dissertations by Dr. Reeves. Dublin. Printed at the University Press, for the Irish Archæological and Celtic Society. 1857.

in utter contempt of the duty which truth imposes on those who undertake to produce history or historic facts for the edification of a too confiding because often ignorant public.

St. Columba was, as is well known, obliged to quit Ireland and seek in the territory occupied by the Scots (Irish) and afterwards called Scotland, a rest which his warlike tendencies frustrated in Ireland. Keating the historian thus gives vent to the popular notion.* “Now this is the cause why Molaise sentenced Columcille to go into Alba, because it came of him to occasion three battles in Erin, viz., the battle of Cul Dreimhne, the battle of Rathán, and the battle of Cuil Feadha. The cause of the battle of Cuil Feadha, according to the old book called the *Leabar Uidhre* of Ciarán, Diarmuid, son of Fergus Cerrbhóil, King of Ireland, made the feast of Tara, and a noble man was killed at that feast by Curnán, son of Aodh, son of Eochuidh Tiorm-carna; wherefore

* P. 248 of Adamnan's “Columba.”

Diarmuid killed him in revenge for that, because he committed murder at the feast of Tara, against law and the sanctuary of the feast; and before Curnan was put to death he fled to the protection of Columcille, and notwithstanding the protection of Columcille, he was killed by Diarmuid. And from that it arose that Columcille mustered the Clanna Neill of the North, because his own protection and the protection of the sons of Earc was violated: whereupon the battle of Cuilebs Dreimhe was gained over Diarmuid and over the Connaghtmen, so that they were defeated through the prayer of Columcille." "The Black Book of Molaga" assigns another cause why the battle of Cul Dreimhne was fought, viz., "in consequence of the false judgment which Diarmuid gave against Columcille when he wrote the Gospel* out of the book of Finnian without his knowledge.† Finnian said that it was to himself belonged

* Dr. Reeves shows it was the Psalms, not the Gospel.

† In other words, stole the book.

the son-book [copy] which was written from his book, and they both selected Diarmuid as judge between them. This is the decision that Diarmuid made: that to every book belongs its son-book [copy], as to every cow belongs her calf. So that this is one of the two causes why the battle of Cuile Dreimhne* was fought.

“This was the cause which brought Columcille to be induced to fight the battle of Cuil Rathan against the Dal n-Ariadhe, and against the Ultonians, viz., in consequence of the controversy that took place between Colum and Comgall, because† they took part against Colum in that controversy.

“This was the cause that occasioned the fighting of the battle of Cuil Feadha against Colman Mac Diarmada, viz., in revenge for his having been outraged in the case of Baodan, son of Ninneadh (King of Erin), who was

* In other words, the Saint would not accept the verdict because it went against him.

† Shows a very impartial judicious mind.

killed by Cuimin, son of Colman, at Leim-an-eich, in violation of the sanctuary of Colum!"

That St. Columba was sorry for his offences and publicly acknowledged them is of course satisfactory, though considering that they did not happen all at one time, it would have been better if his regrets had come earlier. Dr. Reeves remarks,* "Thus we find St. Columba directly or indirectly concerned in three battles, the earliest of which occurred the year but one before his retirement to Britain, and the others at later periods, one of them after he had been twenty-four years in the abbacy of Hy. The first his biographers and panegyrists acknowledge to have been the grand error of his life, for which he paid the penalty of pilgrimage; but to save his character after he became the apostle of the Northern Picts, and the religious exemplar of the Albanian Scots, the device is resorted to of antedating the other occurrences in which the failing of his nature betrayed itself; and

* P. 254, in additional notes.

whereas his participation in these evils could not be denied, it was thrust back into the irresponsible part of his life, rather than allow it to be numbered among the acts of his maturity."

This is a warning which students of history will doubtless observe and make a note of for future use.

In the argument of a hymn of which the first line runs, "*Altus Prosator*" (preserved in the *Liber Hymnorum* and the *Leabhar Breac*), and said to be composed by the Saint, is the following :

"*Causa quare voluit Deum laudare,*

—*i.e.*, to beseech forgiveness for the three battles which he had caused in Erin, viz., the battle of Cul-Rathain, between him and Comgall, contending for a Church, viz., Ross-Torathair; and the battle of Bealach-fheda of the weir of Clonard; and the battle of Cul-Dremhne in Connacht: and it was against Diarmait mac Cerball he fought them both."

Ecclesiastical censure followed him. "*Post hæc in Synodo sanctorum Hiberniæ gravis*

querela contra Sanctum Columbam, tanquam authorem tam multi sanguinis effusi, instituta est. Unde communi decreto censuerunt ipsum debere tot animas, a gentilitate conversas, Christo lucrari, quot in isto prælio interierunt.”*

I do not for one moment mean to suggest, by giving these particulars, that all Irish saints before the time when Rome's influence began to be felt more, were accessory to sanguinary strife, but as St. Patrick, St. Brigid, and St. Columba† are the three Saints of note and whose lives are inseparably yoked together, it is quite as well one very great cause of the

* Colgan's "Acta SS," p. 645, quoted by Reeves.

† St. Columba and his monks were the great obstacle to the correct keeping of the time of Easter. The Roman missionaries to Britain (A.D. 597) were given authority to exercise pastoral care over "the Scots who inhabited Ireland," and they tried to enforce the Roman or correct time. Their efforts were supported by a remonstrance from the See of Canterbury, then just founded. About A.D. 630 Pope Honorius wrote to the Irish non-conformists, as one may call them, to try and make them obey. Adamnan, ninth Abbot of the Monks at Hy, tried to gain over his Columbian Monks, but failed. They were finally gained over to the orthodox side by Egbert in A.D. 716.

continuance of fraternal and tribal strife should not altogether be laid on the shoulders of the laity. "Such as the Priest is such the people," is very often a true saying, and the saintly ecclesiastics of early Christian Ireland were not so Christian as those trained and reared in the arms of Rome.

For the benefit only of obstinate doubters I appeal to the following as a specimen of monkish life which in our days would be followed by the severest measures from Rome :

"A.D. 816. A battle was fought by Cathal, son of Dunlang, and the fraternity of Tigh-Munna [Taghmon] against the fraternity of Ferns, in which 400 were slain. Maelduin, son of Cennfaeladh, Abbot of Raphoe, of the fraternity of Colum-cille, was slain. The fraternity of Colum-cille went to Tara to curse [King] Aedh."*

With which choice specimen of Ireland's practical Christianity I close this chapter.

* P. 255, Reeves' "Columba."

CHAPTER V.

THE DANES IN IRELAND.

ALTHOUGH Ireland escaped conquest by the Romans, which was perhaps not in all respects advantageous, yet it was not her lot to preserve her shores from mere freebooters such as the Danes. The Romans, if they had thoroughly conquered the country, would very probably have instilled the elements of order into what may be called the *Grecian* mind of the ancient Irish. There is much similarity between the Greek and the Celt of Ireland, a similarity which the "Annals of Ireland" give us a reason to suppose was due not entirely to innate peculiarity but breed. Under the year of the world 2850 it remarks, "Neimhidh came to Ireland;" and in the "Annals of Clonmacnoise," translated by

Connell MacGeoghegan, is told the arrival of "Nevie* with his fower sonnes into Ireland out of Greece." O'Flaherty puts the date A.M. 2029.

Dr. Newman has remarked the same thing :† "Distinct, nay antagonistic, in character and talent, the one nation and the other, Irish and English, the one more resembling the Greek, the other the Roman, open from the first perhaps to jealousies as well as rivalries," &c.

The Easterlings are presumably well known as to origin and race to most of my readers, but perhaps a few remarks of Archbishop Usher may not be unacceptable.‡ He says, Livonia extending to the Eastern shore of the Baltic Sea is divided into three parts, differing in Place and Language, viz., Estia, Lettia, Curlandia. The Province of Estiæ or Estonia,

* The root of my own name and that of the MacNevin's and Scotch Niven's. It is curious to see the same name as a town in North Wales, Nevin; and again in Ireland as *Glasnevin*.—See "Joyce on Irish Names."

† "Historical Sketches," Vol. I, 128.

‡ In veterum Epist. Hibern. recensione.

was inhabited by those who by the ancient Grecians were called Osticæi and Ostiones ; by Tacitus in Germania, Æstii ; by Eginhard in the Life of Charles the Great, Aisti ; by Saxo Grammaticus, Estoness ; by Us, Ostmanni or Easterlings. The Easterlings of Ireland were also called by other names, Danes, Norwegians and Normans, which was a name common to all the people of Denmark, Norway, Livonia and the rest of the northern nations.

It would be wearisome and not to the purpose to give a history of Danish warfare in Ireland, all that is necessary is to get an idea of the state of Ireland that we may see how they in a most remarkable manner paved the way not only for the Norman Conquest under Henry, but previously to that, rendered practically necessary, as well as theoretically, the interference of a more active nature, of Rome and her ever watchful Bishop.

It was about the year A.D. 795 they began to trouble the Irish coasts. Incessant battles in which the Northmen gradually gained more

and more power went on till the advent of a chief named Turgesius, *circa* A.D. 830. He and his Danes began to build fortresses which, simple as the fact will appear to us, was of momentous consequence to the men of those days. The Irish apparently were not *au fait* at such modes of defence, and consequently of course were nonplussed. The invaders built fortresses all over the island, and they were commonly called Danes Rathes; or, by the Irish, Mothes. Remains are still to be seen of them; they were built in a round form about twenty feet high. Turgesius seemed completely to have conquered the country. He appointed a King to each province, and so on, and imposed a tax of an ounce of gold on the chief of every family (which, by-the-by, was a proof of wealth), and, as a penalty, gave orders that those who did not pay should have their noses cut off. The story of his overthrow is too good not to be told. He had built a castle for himself near that of the Irishman, Malachi, prince of Meath. Malachi—who was a kind of

Irish Judith, one would imagine—asked the Dane one day in a casual manner* how he would destroy a breed of birds which of late had arrived in Ireland and had proved very destructive to the crops. The Dane replied, destroy their nests. Malachi, who had the Danes in his mind's eye, pondered over this reply. Shortly after, Turgesius fell in love, or rather desired possession of a very beautiful girl called Melcha, the daughter of Malachi. The Celt appeared not to resist the wishes of the Dane, but said his proposal was hard for him to agree to; however, if he must send his daughter to him he must, but requested that the whole affair should be kept secret, and said he would send with her fifteen young ladies to keep her company. Turgesius was nothing loth, and so the matter was arranged. Malachi forthwith brings together fifteen young men, beardless, dresses them in women's clothes, and arms each with a dagger. The eventful day arrives. The Dane receives into

* "Girald. Cambren. Topo. Hiber." Bohn's edit: 3, cap. 42.

his castle the young lady and her fifteen companions, who, once within the walls, seized the tyrant, and with a species of grim irony, tied him to his own bed-post, and then rushing out, opened the castle-gates to Malachi and his men, who poured in and slaughtered the whole garrison but Turgesius. The Dane was kept a few days to charm the eye of the vindictive and victorious Malachi, and was then thrown chained as he was into the lake, where, needless to say, he perished.

The Danes may be said to be the founders of the chief commercial seaports of Ireland, for Dublin became virtually their own, Waterford was purely Danish and so were Limerick and Cork. After incessant warfare against the Irish, carried on with various ups and downs, oftentimes aided by one set of Irish chieftains against another, they gradually became Christianized, and the question of importance is the relationship and bearing of the Danish Christian in Ireland to the native Irish Christian.

In the year 1029 it is recorded that "Sitricus, King of the Danes of Dublin, died on the way in a pilgrimage which he undertook to Rome."

Another Sitricus of whom mention is made in the Black Book of Christ Church in Dublin, and who died 1042, gave "to the Blessed Trinity and Donagh, first bishop of Dublin, a place to build a Church to the Holy Trinity, where the vaults are," etc.

It is evident from these extracts that a fresh page of history is before us.

The Danes are being converted and having even Bishops of their own. Where and by whom were these bishops consecrated?

Would the Danes who looked with supreme contempt on the Irish, even as a gross half-bred mastiff might turn up his nose at a thorough-bred fox-terrier, would these half-civilized Christians submit to receive prelates from the old Irish hierarchy founded by St. Patrick, Armagh being the Primatial See? A few records culled from the pages

of history are the best answer to the question.*

“In 1074 died Donagh the first Danish bishop of the See of Dublin, and was (says Ware, p. 65) buried in the Cathedral, near the high altar; and one, Patrick a Dane likewise, was at the request of King Godred chosen by the people of Dublin to succeed him, and was sent into England to receive consecration from Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, with an Epistle† to be seen in the

* See Ware's “Antiquities of Ireland.”

† The following is the Epistle in question (Ware, on the Bishops of Dublin). “To the Reverend Metropolitan of the Holy Church of Canterbury, Lanfranc. The Clergy and People of Dublin tender their due Obedience. It is known to you, O Father, that the Church of Dublin, which is the Metropolis of the Isle of *Ireland*, is without a Pastor, and destitute of a Governor; wherefore we have chosen a Presbyter named Patrick, whom we all know to be of noble Birth and Education, well instructed in Apostolick and Ecclesiastical Learning, of a Catholic Faith, wary in expounding the Scriptures, thoroughly knowing in the Tenets of the Church: Him, we desire, may as soon as possible be ordained our Bishop; that under God he may rule over us orderly, and instruct us: and that under his Government we may fight securely; forasmuch as the Uprightness of the Ruler is the Health of the Subject, and where Safety is there is

life of the said Patrick. Before the end of the year, Patrick was consecrated by the said Lanfranc in St. Paul's Church in London, and made this following profession of obedience. 'Whoever is set in authority over others ought not to disdain to be subject unto others, but rather with all humility give that obedience to his superiors, which he requires from those that are subject to him. Wherefore I Patrick Elect Bishop of Dublin, the Metropolis of Ireland, offer this my profession to you, Revd. Lanfranc, Primate of Britain, and promise obedience* to you and to your Successors, in all things relating to the Christian Religion.'"

This with other Professions of the Danish Bishops, was published among other *Irish* Epistles, out of an ancient MS. of Cotton's the Form of Doctrine." Ware says a copy in his time was to be seen in an old Code of the Cotton Library under the Effigy of Cleopatra, E. 1, which formerly belonged to the Church of Canterbury.

* Not simply an act of courtesy, being consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury, be it observed, but a submission to him as ecclesiastical superior.

Library, by the most Learned James Usher, Archbishop of Armagh, Anno 1632.

Again, "In 1085 Donatus, a Dane, born in Dublin, but educated at Canterbury in England, where he was made a Benedictine Monk, with consent of King Tirdelvacus and the clergy, after the usual profession of Obedience, was consecrated Bishop of Dublin by Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury. And at his return home carried with him certain Books and Ecclesiastical ornaments which Lanfranc bestowed upon the Church of the Blessed Trinity in Dublin."

As with Dublin so with Waterford. "In 1096 the Episcopal See of Waterford was instituted and the first bishop elected to it was Malchus, born in Ireland, but bred a Monk at Winchester in England. He was consecrated at Canterbury by Anselm the Archbishop, 5 Kal. Jan., Ralph, Bishop of Chichester, and Gundolph, Bishop of Rochester, assisting, and made this following profession: 'I Malchus Elected Bishop of Waterford,

and now to be consecrated by you Reverend Father Anselm, Archbishop of the Holy Church of Canterbury, and Primate of All Britain, Do promise in all things to give Canonical Obedience to you and all your Successors.' We have a copy of the Letters written in his behalf in 'Eadmerus,' published by the learned Selden in the year 1623."

To complete the matter we must look and see how Limerick fares.

"In 1140 Gille or Gilbert, bishop of Limerick dying, or at least resigning, one Patrick, elected by the Danes of Limerick, went into England, and was there consecrated by Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, and made this following profession: 'I Patrick elected to the Government of the Church of Limerick, and now to be consecrated by you Reverend Father Theobald, Archbishop of the Holy Church of Canterbury, do promise due subjection and Canonical Obedience to you and all that shall Canonically succeed you.'"

The fact is therefore evident that the Danes would not accept Irish Bishops for Irish towns in which they happened to predominate. Two reasons, to give no more, may be stated to account for this most remarkable state of affairs; and one, which we will first discuss is the wretched state of discipline in Ireland at that time. Malachy, a great pet of the illustrious St. Bernard, was bishop of Connor in 1124, and yet what says St. Bernard in his "Life of Malachy" of the state of affairs at that time? * "He (Malachy) was not sent to men but to beasts. He had never before, not even among the most barbarous anywhere, observed the like. Nowhere the people so stubborn as to manners, so bestial as to rites, so impious as to Faith, so barbarous as to Laws, so headstrong as to Discipline, so filthy as to life, Christians by name, but in very deed Pagans: not paying Tithes, nor offering first fruits, nor joyning in lawful marriages, nor con-

* Quoted in Father Peter Walsh's "History of Ireland," p. 267.

fessing their sins. None among them found either to receive or to enjoin penance. The ministers of the Altar few : and yet no work among the laity for those same few : no opportunity given them to make use of their Ministry among a wicked generation of people : nor they endeavouring it much, if not rather scarce any way at all : for in their Churches the voice neither of a Preacher nor singer was heard."

Yet again says St. Bernard,* in his "Life of Malachy" (Malachias) cap. vii, "For what has never been elsewhere, not even since the very beginning of Christianity heard, was now in Ireland to be seen. Bishops without ordination, without reason multiplied at the lust of the Metropolitan. Insomuch that one Bishoprick was not content with one Bishop, but almost every Church in it had a peculiar Bishop. And indeed how was it likely to be otherwise ? or that under so diseased, so corrupt a head, the members could be sound ?"

* Father Walsh, p. 263.

So much for the state of religion in Ireland, which was certainly not such as would render a victorious colony well established in the country anxious that their own chief pastors should be taken from such a set of men as described by St. Bernard, men whom if we may trust the account given of the labours of Laurence Archbishop, of Dublin, A.D. 1162, by Father Walsh the Franciscan,* did not improve as time went on. "As a Bishop and a Legat too," says the author of his "Life," "he conniv'd at no disorder in the clergy, no vice, no sin, and least of all at the scandalous one of Incontinency, whether in Priest, Deacon, or Subdeacon. Which fleshly vice he did so much abominate, especially in them, and found it so necessary to be proceeded against with vigour; that even so great a number as a hundred and forty priests convict thereof he sent together at one time for Penance and Absolution to Rome; though

* "Hist, Irel.," p. 300.

he might otherwise have given them both at home by his own authority."

So far then we see that poor old Ireland did not thrive under the civilizing garb of Christianity much better than in pre-Christian times. The Danes who virtually may be looked on as conquerors, for they could not be dispossessed of the most important positions in any country, viz., a hold on the chief rivers and commercial towns, these Danes gradually became Christians, but yet, strange as it may appear, they will not as Christians either coalesce with the native Irish nor will they get their Bishops from among her people and by consecration from the ancient See of Armagh. This is the fact which the Historian has to face, and in order fully to take in the situation it is necessary to turn briefly to English history and see what the Danes were doing in England, if similar results are found there, or anything which may explain the phenomena which attracts our attention.

As the fearfully bloodthirsty doings of the

Irish have even by Irish saints been considered the reason* why God's vengeance let loose over her plains the wild Northmen of Norway and Denmark ; so in England we see a very similar act of Divine retribution.

The *ancient* English, if I may so say, were the Britons (afterwards confined to Wales, even as the native Irish were driven into Con-naught), and they were at an early period Christianized by Rome ; but one great act of omission is attributed to them—they would not aid or raise a little finger towards converting the Saxons who occupied nearly all what is now called, England.

Dr. Lappenbergt justly observes, “ The struggles between the Britons and the Anglo-Saxons were carried on for centuries with so much rancour, that it ought to excite no astonishment, and still less call for blame, that the former did not attempt the conversion of their barbarous enemies and oppressors. Most worthy therefore of admiration appears Pope Gregory the

* St. Brigid for example.

† Vol. I, p. 135.

Great, who first conceived the idea of gaining the Anglo-Saxon states for Christendom and the Catholic Church."

The punishment fell on them later, when as Usher and the "Ulster Annals" relate, some nine years after St. Augustine's death, Ethelfred slaughtered thousands of the British, among whom were 1200 of the monks of Bangor.

Yet once again, "fate," "destiny," "the survival of the fittest," as philosophers may say, but "Providence," to use a Christian term, punished those same Saxons for their want of earnestness in the practice of that Christianity which they had received fresh from the lap of Rome.

The Danes had mastered the Saxons, the Christian-Saxons ;* what is the expedient re-

* Saxon-Christianity was worse than that of the early Irish. Lappenberg (Vol. I, p. 196) speaking of their monasteries, says :—"A vice peculiar to the time consisted in the facility with which laymen of rank, ealdormen, and other officials of the king were permitted to found monasteries for themselves and wives. In these foundations, the layman assuming the

sorted to by these followers of Jesus Christ? Men talk of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, a massacre for ever to be deplored, but yet confessedly looked upon as much from a political as religious aspect by the perpetrators, what will Englishmen, who everlastingly throw it in our teeth, say to the following event in their own Saxon history? On the 13th of November, 1002, secret orders were despatched by Æthelred to murder the Danes throughout England. A general slaughter took place, women and children being murdered equally with the men. Among those thus slaughtered was Gunhelda, the sister of Sweyne. When on the point of death, she exclaimed, that the shedding of her blood would be at the cost of all England. True were her words, and well might the Saxons remember

abbot's staff, devoted to worldly indulgencies, free from all burdens, surrounded by profligate monks, whose vices had caused their expulsion from other monasteries, or by his own former followers, shaven in the guise of monks, lived without rule or discipline, to the detriment and scandal of the country."

them when Danish Kings sat on the Throne of England.

But now comes good out of evil, now once again the over-ruling Providence of God is shown. These Danes become the means of a closer intercourse with Rome, of an invigorated faith, of a more close connection of England with the Holy Roman Empire and the See of Rome. Canute as every schoolboy knows, became possessor of the English throne, Canute who may be and who has been compared as a ruler to Charles the Great. He found that heathenism was still lurking among the Danish settlers, so he strictly prohibited it. Ecclesiastics were honoured by him, many churches rebuilt, every monastery in England richly gifted, and some also in foreign countries, such as St. Omer's and Chartres. He also instituted the anniversaries of the sainted King Edward and of St. Dunstan.* In honour of St. Edmund the King and Martyr, he refounded the Bene-

* Lappenberg.

dictine monastery at Bedericsworth, now called St. Edmundsbury, and also re-established St. Peter's pence; he furthermore established complete good will between the See of Canterbury and the Church of Hamburg, which was a great step towards mutual good feeling between Danish and Saxon ecclesiastics. These facts evidently bear on the longing of *the Irish Danes to be in communion with the Danes of England* and with the See of Canterbury so honoured by Canute. One more incident in the life of Canute must be recorded. About 1030 (dates differ slightly) he went to Rome and obtained from the Pope numerous privileges for the Saxons. His letter to the English sent by him through the hands of the Abbot of Tavistock is of great interest. I give it in full.*

“Canute, King of all England and Denmark, and of part of Sweden, to Æthelnoth the Metropolitan, and Ælfric of York, and to all bishops and primates, and to the whole nation of the English, both noble and ignoble, wishes

* Lappenberg, Vol. II, p. 212.

health. I make known to you that I have lately been to Rome, to pray for the redemption of my sins, and for the prosperity of the kingdoms and peoples subject to my rule. This journey I had long ago vowed to God, though, through affairs of state and other impediments, had hitherto been unable to perform it: but I now humbly return thanks to God Almighty for having in my life granted me to yearn after the blessed apostles, Peter and Paul, and every sacred place within and without the City of Rome, which I could learn of, and, according to my desire, personally to venerate and adore. And this I have executed chiefly because I had learned from wise men that the holy apostle Peter had received from the Lord the great power of binding and loosing, and was Key-bearer of the celestial kingdom; and I, therefore, deemed it extremely useful to desire his patronage before God. Be it now known to you, that there was a great assembly of nobles at the Easter celebration, with the lord Pope John and Emperor

Conrad, to wit, all the princes of the nations from Mount Gargano to the nearest sea, who all received me honourably, and honoured me with magnificent presents. But I have been chiefly honoured by the Emperor with divers costly gifts, as well in golden and silver vases as in mantles and vestments exceedingly precious. I have therefore spoken with the emperor, and the lord pope, and the princes who were there, concerning the wants of all my people, both English and Danes, that a more equitable law and greater security might be granted to them in their journey to Rome, and that they might not be hindered by so many barriers, nor harassed by unjust tolls: and the emperor and king Rudolf, who has the greater number of those barriers in his dominion, have agreed to my demands: and all the princes have engaged by their edict, that my men, whether merchants or other travellers for objects of devotion, should go and return in security and peace, without any constraint of barriers or tolls.

“I then complained to the lord pope, and said, that it greatly displeased me, that from my archbishops such immense sums of money were exacted, when, according to usage, they visited the apostolic see to receive the pall; and it was decreed that such exactions should not thenceforth be made. And all that I have demanded for the benefit of my people from the lord pope, from the emperor, from king Rudolf and from the other princes, through whose territories our way lies to Rome, they have freely granted, and also confirmed their cessions by oath, with the witness of four archbishops and twenty bishops, and an innumerable multitude of dukes and nobles, who were present; I therefore render great thanks to God Almighty that I have successfully accomplished all that I desired, as I had proposed in my mind, and satisfied to the utmost the wishes of my people. Now then, be it known to you, that I have vowed, as a suppliant, from henceforth to justify in all things my whole life to God, and to rule the

kingdoms and peoples subjected to me justly and piously, to maintain equal justice among all; and if, through the intemperance of my youth, or through negligence, I have done aught hitherto contrary to what is just, I intend with the aid of God to amend all. I therefore conjure and enjoin my counsellors, to whom I have intrusted the counsels of the kingdom, that from henceforth they in no wise, neither through fear of me nor favour to any powerful person, consent to, or suffer to increase any injustice in my whole kingdom: I enjoin also all sherrifs and ‘gerefan’ of my entire kingdom, as they would enjoy my friendship or their own security, that they use no unjust violence to any man, either rich or poor, but that every one, both noble and ignoble, enjoy just law, from which let them in no way swerve, neither for equal favour, nor for any powerful person, nor for the sake of collecting money for me by iniquitous exactions.

“I therefore wish it to be made known

to you, that, returning by the same way that I departed, I am going to Denmark, for the purpose of settling, with all the counsel of the Danes, firm and lasting peace with those nations, which, had it been in their power, would have deprived us of our life and kingdom; but were unable, God having deprived them of strength, who in His loving kindness preserves us in our kingdoms and honour, and renders naught the power of our enemies. Having made peace with the enemies around us, and regulated and tranquillized all our kingdom here in the East, so that on no side we may have to fear war or enmities, I propose this summer, as soon as I can have a number of ships ready, to proceed to England; but I have sent this letter beforehand, that all the people of my kingdom may rejoice at my prosperity; for, as you yourselves know, I have never shrunk from labouring, nor will I shrink therefrom, for the necessary benefit of all my people. I therefore conjure all my bishops and caldormen, by the fealty

which they owe to me and to God, so to order that, before I come to England, the debts of all, which we owe according to the old law, be paid; to wit, plough-alms, and a tithe of animals brought forth during the year, and the pence which ye owe to St. Peter at Rome, both from the cities and villages; and in the middle of August, a tithe of fruits, and at the feast of St. Martin, the first-fruits of things sown, to the church of the parish in which each one dwells, which is in English called *ciric-sceat*. If, when I come, these and others are not paid, he who is in fault shall be punished by the royal power severely and without any remission. Farewell."

Thus then not only did England benefit by reason of a Danish royal house, but Rome was taught by Canute that the Northmen were, to use nineteenth century language, a better spiritual speculation, than Celt or Saxon. The Saxons would not convert the Danes, but massacred them and thus for ever destroyed any influence for good which they might have

exercised over them. Then providentially Canute seeks to strengthen Christianity not only among his kindred in England but among the Saxons themselves.

In Ireland the battle of Clontarf in the beginning of the eleventh century (A.D. 1014) broke the power of the Danes, but did not prevent their settling permanently on every vantage post in Ireland. The Irish showed them no very brilliant* example of Christian

* This assertion is amply borne out by history. To quote Dr. Newman will suffice for English readers, "Brian, then, was raised up to accomplish for his country great works of a material kind. His arms broke the power of the Northmen; he rebuilt the fabrics of religion; but, as to moral and social matters, he left behind him the bad and the good which were before him. He did not reverse the national degradation. There had been literature among the Irish all along, and civil war all along: he found both and he left both. Schools had still endured when the Northmen were victorious; slaughter and sacrilege were still rife when they had been chastised. So too was it with the ecclesiastics: the well-known disorders in the Church of Armagh, which continued up to the time of St. Malachi, are a clear evidence of it."—*Historical Sketches*, Vol. I, 2nd edit., p. 286.

The Catholic, Lanigan, an Irishman, confirms it as follows: "The Irish were during a great part of the eleventh century

life, and when these Danes gradually became Christian it was to England they naturally turned their eyes. They knew that Canute had been favoured by Rome and had been the great Christian-Danish King, they heard of the monasteries he had founded and the works of benevolence he had carried out, and in addition to these recent events, they saw that the descendants of those Saxons who had massacred them were now themselves under the rule of a Monarch of their own race, William the Norman, King of England, a King furthermore who had invaded England backed by the support of that same power which had treated Canute and his Danes with such justice and fraternity of feeling—the See of Rome.

The Irish-Danes would have been more than human if they had not longed to strengthen their position by seeking consecration of their

engaged here and there in wars among themselves; and we find now and then one or other party of them assisted by the Danes settled in Dublin or elsewhere."—Vol. III, p. 427.

prelates from the See of Canterbury, a See in an especial manner the symbol of Roman power and consequently of toleration and support of their own race. In addition to these mundane notions there was the spiritual allegiance they owed. Father Waterworth, an English Jesuit of literary reputation, remarks on the subject :* “ Murtoagh, King of Ireland, and Dermeth his brother, in connection with the Irish prelates, Domnald, Iduman of Meath, Samuel of Dublin, and Ferdomnach of Leinster, being anxious to raise Waterford to the dignity of a bishoprick, humbly besought Anselm, as their primate and legate of the Holy See, to grant their request, and to consecrate the priest Malchus, whom they had chosen for this dignity. And Anselm exercised his authority as Archbishop. It appears that one of the petitioners, Samuel, bishop of Dublin, had assumed the privilege of having a cross borne before him on the highways. Anselm tells him that this has been reported to

* “England and Rome,” by Rev. W. Waterworth, S.J., p. 265. London: Burns and Lambert, 1854.

him, and that, if it be true, this is not to occur again, since those only are permitted to have the cross borne before them who have received the pall from Rome.* Englishmen and Irishmen admitted the authority of Anselm, because that authority had been received from the Mother and Mistress of all Churches." This authority of St. Anselm was not opposed by the Irish prelates, as may be seen by the letters (in Usserii "*Sylloge Veterum Epist. Hib.*") of Tordelvac O'Brian, King of the Southern moiety of Ireland, and of his son and successor Murchertach, both called Kings of Ireland, and of Ferdomnach, bishop of Kildare and Metropolitan of Leinster† (before Dublin was made so in 1152).

This intimate connection of Dublin, Waterford, Limerick and Cork with the English Danes and the Normans of Duke William necessarily had most vital importance in con-

* Apud Usser. "*Vet. Epist. Hib. Syl.*" p. 69.

† O'Flaherty's "*H-IAR Connaught*," by Hardiman, p. 442.

nection with the gift of Ireland to a successor of William, Henry II. Lanfranc was the great promoter of William's cause at Rome previous to his invasion of England; the illustrious Hildebrand, after Gregory VII, was Archdeacon at Rome at the same time, and he showed the greatest interest in the intended conquest. Thus then does a continued course of evolution at last lead up to a Norman conquest of Ireland, which was but a necessary consequence of the same Norman conquest of England; both invasions being under the sanction of the Popes of Rome, both being subservient to the one great object apparently intended by Providence, namely, to weld together the states of Europe and strengthen the outposts of Christianity by bringing them into nearer and closer union with Rome which is the heart from which blood is supplied to the Christian body at large.

CHAPTER VI.

*WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR AND POPE
GREGORY VII.*

IN order to understand the causes which led the Popes to sanction the Norman conquest of Ireland one or two preliminary inquiries must be made. It will be necessary to see the ground on which William of Normandy first of all invaded England; secondly, the bearing of the Norman invasion of England on the Irish invasion of the next century, and inextricably interwoven with each of these events—the action of the Holy See in favouring the Normans at the expense of both Saxon and Celt.

In an age when literature of all kinds was almost entirely confined to the clergy it is not to be wondered at, that apart from all questions of an ecclesiastical or controversial nature

they must have had infinitely more influence than could have fallen to their lot if the laity had been anything like as well educated as they are in our own days. It will not therefore surprise the thoughtful student of history if he finds that the influence of this or that priest was of more weight than a battalion of troops or the wishes of a palace full of courtiers.

Already we have seen that Canute in his own person did lowly reverence to the head priest of Christendom, the Pope; and his example would but increase the reverence felt by Ignorance for Genius apart from all question of right or wrong. But in addition to the intellectual pre-eminence of the clergy, the common folk as well as the lordly courtier must naturally feel that when a Monarch kneels to receive the blessing of a Priest, they need not hesitate in drawing the conclusion that the spiritual power thus manifested must be of an order far greater than any they have hitherto come across.

The reverence manifested by the warrior-king Canute was but carried out by his successor King Edward of saintly reputation. Indeed the noble Abbey of Westminster now so internally disfigured by being practically turned into a statue-gallery was reared by him as a mark of respect and reverence to the See of Rome. The occasion of its erection was as follows. Edward, while in exile, made a vow the fulfilment of which would lead him to Rome. When however he communicated to his Council the intention he had formed, they used all means to prevent his leaving the kingdom, and the consequence was he sent word to the Pope that owing to the troublous state of the times he found it impossible to carry out his vow, what therefore should he do? The Pope decided that he should give alms to the poor of an amount equal to the cost of his journey, and erect a monastery to God dedicated to St. Peter. Edward did so, and thus the English have Westminster Abbey now so diverted from its original purpose.

King Edward owed a debt of kindness to the Normans and his love for them was shown in many ways, and not least in the appointment to the See of Canterbury of Robert,* a Norman. He received the pall from the Pope, and thus was canonically and lawfully Archbishop of Canterbury. But now comes out once again the ill-feeling borne to the Northmen as a *genus*, and to the *species*, Norman. Stigand, who had been one of Canute's chaplains, and made afterwards Bishop of Selsey and Winchester, was the favourite of what one may call the English clique. The evils which internally brought trouble on England were attributed to Robert, and finally the English named Robert Archbishop of Canterbury as one of those who should be outlawed. Naturally the Archbishop appealed to the Holy See, and as usual injustice and tyranny received condemnation.

* Robert Champart, Abbot of Jumièges in 1037, was bishop of London in 1044 and Archbishop of Canterbury in 1050.

Leo IX maintained that those who sought to raise Stigand to the See could not do so, for Robert was rightly Archbishop and his rights must be maintained. So long as this state of things lasted Stigand might retain possession of the See unlawfully, but he could not obtain the pall and consequently his spiritual jurisdiction was *nil*. An Anti-pope at this time seized the Papal Chair and naturally the usurping Pope supported the usurping Bishop; however Stigand's triumph was short-lived, for this Anti-pope was shortly after deposed and his rightful successor immediately suspended Stigand from all Episcopal functions and thus reduced him to a far worse condition than before.

It will easily be seen that this strife concerning the See of Canterbury had wide and far-reaching results. The Popes who would not easily forget the massacre of one race of the Northmen, the Danes, on St. Brice's Day by the Saxon English, now find the representative of the Saxons courting the pall from an Anti-pope and striving unjustly to oust from

the See of Canterbury, the very man who had received from Rome the Pall and who was the chosen friend of the Saintly King Edward whose friends were more Norman than Saxon. Rome never forgets; can it therefore be a subject of wonderment if when Duke William whose claims to the throne of England were at least plausible, sought the blessing of the Holy See on his undertaking, that the Pope should have given it from the bottom of his heart? Did not the Pope well know that William was a thorough Catholic, that he always chose men of sanctity and learning for his sees—did he not know that from the Abbey of Bec had come forth the great vanquisher of heresy,* Lanfranc,† who was the bosom

* The Berengarian, for example.

† "He was a native of Lombardy, deeply versed in the knowledge of the liberal arts, gifted with benevolence, generosity, and all the sacred virtues, and ceaselessly intent on alms-giving and other good works. Indeed, from the day already mentioned, when at Bonneville he was first raised to rule in the church, for twenty-two years and nine months he was nobly distinguished for the good to multitudes of the faithful in the house of God."—*Ordericus Vitalis*, B. III. ch. xii.

friend of the Duke? Did he not know that the Northmen in Normandy were closely bound to the See of Rome and rightly carried out Canon Law while the Saxons had the most vague and unsatisfactory ideas of the sanctity of the matrimonial state and the binding power of ecclesiastical law over their clergy? Did Rome not look with horror on a race who instead of trying to Christianize the Danes, massacred them in cold blood? Did she not still more detest the want of noble feelings which showed itself in the iniquitous sale of *their own children to the Irish*, a sale which was the chief export trade of Bristol? Could Rome, whose chief aim is the salvation of souls, throw cold water on the intended invasion of a country to which the Duke had put forward a legal claim, and which if successful would immensely improve the social and religious state of the Saxon inhabitants?

An objection will in many minds arise, and express itself somewhat thus: "The Pope had no business to do evil that good might come—

to sanction an invasion because those invaded were not such good Papists as the invaders—it was a priestly interference which was essentially unjust and unpardonable, and deserves the condemnation of all freedom-loving citizens.”

Such, or something of a similar kind is the opinion of many men when reading of the Papally-blessed expedition to England, and in fact of many other acts of Popes in those times.

An answer seems desirable, and it will *partly* meet a similar objection to the Norman invasion of Ireland under direct Papal approbation and sanction.

It is in all inquiries such as those before us grossly unjust to consider them from a nineteenth century point of view.

In the eleventh century Europe was not either Christianized or Civilized as it is now, and the Pope occupied a different position in some ways to what he now does. Then Europe was, in its Christian aspect, a wayward child—fretful, petulant, loving yet vacil-

lating. The Popes were looked up to as the Chief Bishops of the Christian Church, and the Monarch if a Christian, naturally sought the Pope's blessing on his rule and kingdom. Kings themselves—whether rightly or wrongly is not here the question—accepted cordially the idea that the Pope's blessing or the Pope's curse was ratified by Almighty God, and that if a Pope thought a King was acting tyrannically over his subjects, he, as the earthly representative of the God of Justice, had power to excommunicate or depose that King. Whether at a time when Kings had so much absolute power it was not very beneficial that a power should exist which they feared, may well be asked.* Whether if England had

* Voltaire was more just than many so-called Christian-philosophers. He says, "The interest of the human race requires a check which shall restrain sovereigns, and protect the lives of the people; the check of religion might have been by a common agreement in the hands of the Popes. The early pontiffs, by meddling with temporal quarrels, only in order to appease them, by reminding Kings and people of their duties, by condemning their crimes, by reserving excommunications for great enormities, would

been really Catholic, for example, in the latter part of the reign of Henry VIII and under Charles I, a Pope had checked the former monarch's tyranny and the latter's excessive use of the royal prerogative it would not have been advantageous to England will not be denied. Whether if Europe now were Catholic a Pope's request that Germany should not have exacted such immense retributive remuneration from France after 1870 might have had a beneficial effect in lessening the chances of a war of re-conquest may well be maintained.

But to return to the Middle Ages. Emperors and Kings admitted the right of Popes to check and control the actions of Kings if those

always have been looked upon as the images of God upon the earth. But men are actually come to have nothing else for their defence than the laws and manners of each country,—laws that are often despised, and manners that are often corrupt."—*Volt. Essai, &c.*, Tom. II, ch. ix, quoted by De Maistre on "The Pope," Bk, II. chap. ix.

What Voltaire wrote then is even more true now when Ministers drag Monarchy in the mire by cringing to agitation—mob-law, and the will of the majority, be that majority ignorant, communistic, or bestial, matters not.

actions were detrimental either to Religion or to Civil Liberty. For example, Robert of France was excommunicated, but nevertheless Voltaire remarks, "the Emperor Otho III was himself present at the Council in which the sentence of excommunication was pronounced."*

So again in a crucial case, Philip Augustus had transferred to him the Kingdom of England by the Pope. He did not certainly protest that Popes *had no right to give crowns!*† In brief, it is perhaps only natural that a King when excommunicated or deposed should dislike such paternal exercise of authority, nevertheless that same deposed King if reinstated would have no objection to receive authority from the Pope to gain an advantage. In this very case of King John and Philip it must be remembered that Pope Innocent gave John the title of King even after censure, and the Protestant historian Ranke, adds, "as soon as the Pope was acknowledged as lord

* Voltaire, "Essai," &c., Tom. II, ch. xxxix.

† De Maistre, "Le Pape."

superior, not only must all hostility cease, but it became his duty to take the Kingdom under his protection.”*

Thus for a Pope to interfere where tyranny was being exercised or when a disputed succession arose, was in fact, so to speak, to bring the question before a higher court, and thus the Kings, tyrants, or rebels, would have the Vicar of Christ for their opponent did they not submit. It will be readily granted by every thoughtful and fair-minded reader that such a Popedom must have been most beneficial in those turbulent times, and for my own part I feel inclined to add that I would rather trust to the decision of a Leo than a Bismarck even in our own days, on many a question of temporal interests.

It is very noticeable that Duke William who was so evidently befriended by Rome was living contemporaneously with one whose name is of evil omen to Protestants, the notorious Gregory VII, better known as

* “ Eng. Geschichte,” I. p. 66.

Hildebrand. Prince Bismarck in his recent contest with the Catholic Church in Germany is reported to have remarked, "We will not go to Canossa," alluding of course to the public penance performed there by Henry* of Germany for his disobedience to the repeated prayers, requests, and finally denunciations of the Holy See. The fact that Duke William was on good terms with this grand Pope is proof that he was not only a good ruler but a good man, for no man has yet ventured to say aught against the moral character of Pope Gregory. It was, says De Maistre,† a splendid moment, and one which would furnish the subject of a very beautiful painting, that of

* "Through all Germany the Emperor's tyranny and irregularities of life had sown the seeds of disaffection."—*Professor Bryce's Holy Roman Empire*, 4th edit., p. 159.

"The conduct of the pontiff was not only in strict accordance with the general opinion of the age as to the mischievous rule of this secular potentate; but was quite conformable to the then prevailing doctrine of public law, which sanctioned the responsibility and accountability of the temporal power."—*Schlegel's Philosophy of History*, Bohn's 7th edit., p. 360.

† De Maistre, "Le Pape," Bk. II, chap. vii.

the interview of Canossa, near Reggio, in 1077, when this Pope, holding the Eucharist in his hands, turned towards the Emperor, and summoned him to swear, in that presence, that *he had never acted except with perfect purity of intention, for the glory of God and the happiness of the people*, whilst the Emperor, overwhelmed with a guilty conscience, dared not repeat such a formula, nor receive the Communion. Gregory did both. Such then was the man who intent above all things on the glory of God and secondly the happiness of the people thought fit to aid William Duke of Normandy in his rule over Saxon England. In one* of his letters he says, "The princes of the people and the princes of the priests come out with great multitudes against Christ the Son of the Almighty God, and against His Apostle Peter, to destroy the Christian religion and spread the perversion of heresy. But, by the grace of God, neither threats, nor persuasion, nor

* P. II, Ep. 64, p. 708. Mansi, xx, 628. Quoted by Hergenröther.

promises of earthly honour will avail to withdraw from Him to their impiety those who trust in the Lord. They have entered into a league against us, because we cannot be silent when the Church is in danger, and because we resist those who take no shame in reducing the Bride of Christ to slavery. A woman, however poor, may lawfully take a husband according to the laws of her country and her own wish; but the will of wicked men and their horrid devices would prevent Holy Church who is the Bride of God and our Mother, from adhering lawfully, according to God's laws and her own desire, to her Bridegroom on earth. We cannot suffer that heretics, adulterers, and usurpers should stand in the place of fathers to the sons of the Church, and should brand them with the dishonour of adultery."

The Pope's friendship and admiration for William did not however blind him to his defects, as the following extract from a letter written by him to his legate Hugo will prove.

“Although* the King of England shows himself not so religious as we could desire, still he is more deserving and better than other kings, in that he neither ruins nor sells the Church of God; that he seeks to secure peace and justice for his subjects, that he has made no covenant with the enemies of the Cross of Christ against the Church of God; that he obliges priests to leave their wives, and enforces the payment of tithes upon the laity.”

He wrote personally to William once as follows:† “For as for the beauty of this world, that it may be at different seasons perceived by fleshly eyes, God hath disposed the sun and the moon, lights that outshine all others; so lest the creature whom His goodness hath formed after His own image in this world should be drawn astray into fatal dangers, He hath provided in the apostolic and royal dignities the means of ruling it through divers offices.

* Hergenröther.

† Bryce, “Holy Roman Empire,” 4th edit., p. 160.

. . . If I, therefore, am to answer for thee on the dreadful day of judgment before the just Judge who cannot lie, the Creator of every creature, bethink thee whether I must not very diligently provide for thy salvation, and whether, for thine own safety, thou oughtest not without delay to obey me,* that so thou mayest possess the land of the living."

After thus getting an insight into the close connection existing between the Roman Pontiff and King William, also bearing in mind that Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, was a follower of the example set him by Rome and a devoted adherent of the King, can we for one moment wonder that Pope Gregory should authorize Lanfranc to use all means in his power to link together the interests of the Norman Danes of Ireland with the Norman Court at

* De Maistre has made a remark which should be written in these Communistic days in letters of gold. "THE POPES HAVE STRUGGLED SOMETIMES WITH SOVEREIGNS, NEVER WITH SOVEREIGNTY."

Westminster and the Norman-occupied and Papal-directed See of Canterbury? Ireland was outside the Roman Empire, this was a great loss in the eyes of Rome—what more likely than that she should endeavour to obviate the drawbacks owing to this geographical defect by drawing tighter by Norman cords the Church of Ireland to the See of Rome?

With the light thus thrown on the situation, I shall once again return to Ireland and discuss the crowning feat of Rome in subjecting Ireland to the Normans in the person of King Henry the Second. This however I must leave to the next chapter.

CHAPTER VII.

POPE ADRIAN'S GIFT OF IRELAND TO ENGLAND.

NOT only was the nationality of the Danes a great cause of the alliance in feeling between the Normans in England and themselves, but in another way which perhaps is not so often remembered did their inroads and subsequent settlement in Ireland pave the way for Henry's conquest.

It must be remembered that the tyrannical conduct of the Danish chief Turgesius naturally led many of the Irish, who as I said before were great travellers, to leave their country for France; a large number for example followed King Malachi there, and subsequently gave their services to Charles the Bold. This alliance between France and Ireland has continued from that date until the present day, and the following narrative

of a recent event is the latest exemplification of their friendship.

During the Franco-German war of 1870 Mgr. Dupanloup and the good priests of Orleans were overwhelmed with the amount of work thrown on their hands. The following is the speech of the Bishop in the National Assembly in which reference is made to the receipt of help from Ireland :*

“Such an act will repair a long-standing injustice (murmurs on the Left). Yes, gentlemen, you are indebted to us for these charitable foundations, these hospitals, in a word, the patrimony of the poor (applause from the Right). The fact is undeniable. We have covered Europe and all the other parts of the world with homes of charity and asylums for the poor. Before our time, before Christianity, there was not a single establishment of beneficence, not one asylum for suffering in the world. We are the creators of charity upon earth (applause). Pagan moralists had

* *Ex Weekly Register.*

no concern for the poor—and they usually called pity a vice of the heart, *Misericordia animo vitium est*. Seneca affirms that in his treatise ‘De Clementia.’ What I assert is no insult to my hearers. Another Pagan, no less than Cicero (*pro Murena*), says, ‘a man must be either silly, or dull or wicked, if he yields his heart to pity.’—In short, the whole theory is summed up in these words—‘The sage knows nothing of pity.’ Once more I affirm it—we have created the capital of charity—nay, charity itself (applause and murmurs). We have contrived to augment and consecrate this capital. Who bestowed on you the Hotel Dieu, the Incurables, the Foundling Hospital?—A saint, a priest, St. Vincent de Paul. We have already established 120 new hospitals by the hands of the Little Sisters of the Poor. In them 20,000 old men are clothed, fed, lodged, with the best of charity. In these houses the clergy have, for ages, presided over the distribution of alms, the patrimony of the poor. In time, the laity came to

associate with the clergy. More abundant alms will come in if we possess seats on the Board. A legacy of 15,000 francs has just been left to the 'Little Sisters of the Poor,' and without waiting for my advice, they declined it. 'If,' said they, 'we were to accept, we should no longer be the Little Sisters of the Poor. The sentiment of religion is the great suggestor of charity. The fact is, that people address us when they would engage in a good work, because they have confidence in us.' In Christianity charity is the most essential quality of religion. A Christian minister is not only the man of God, he is also the man of the people (applause). In our department, during the horrible ravages of war there, we had at Orleans on our hands, for two months together, 10,000 wounded. When this flood of affliction came down upon us, we all became as though we were but one soul and one heart. Catholics, Protestants, private individuals, magistrates, priests, &c., we all met in one common spirit of charity. Did any

difference occur on the score of religion? Not once; our ambulances, like our hearts, were open to all sufferers here to do honour to so many that deserved it. We received assistance from England, from Belgium, from every other country: and above all, from poor but admirable Ireland — from Dublin, Cork, Limerick, and Kerry. How much? No less than 200,000 francs (applause). And why so much? Because, ten years ago when famine was raging in Ireland, I had preached a sermon for the benefit of its people. We then collected for them 20,000 francs. You see they have repaid us with large interest. And these money-orders came with these simple words on them, ‘A Souvenir from Ireland’ (enthusiastic applause).”

Thus in the 12th century began the friendship which still endures; but it was an ominous alliance as viewed through English eyes and consequently it will not occasion much wonder if an historian thus chronicles the ill-feeling with which it inspired Henry II.* “Post hæc

* Polidor. Virgil. “Hist. Angli.” Lib. XIII, p. 55.

Henricus destinavit animo domare Hiberniam, tum quòd Angliæ propinqua est, tum quia Gallis inde administrata sæpius auxilia intelligebat."

So also relates Baker in his Chronicle on the reign of Henry II.

"King Henry being then at rest from all hostile arms both at home and abroad, takes into his consideration the Kingdom of Ireland, as a Kingdom which oftentimes afforded assistance to the French."

Obviously Henry whatever he may have thought fit to tell the Pope as his reason for wishing to obtain Papal sanction for his intended invasion was actuated purely by political and not religious motives. His ecclesiastical tendencies which culminated in the murder of the Archbishop of Canterbury were not of a nature to accord a first place to spiritual improvements.

The coincidences which I noticed in the last chapter are quite as noticeable in the reign of Henry. As William was fortunate enough to

have friends at Rome when he invaded England and one of those friends became Pope under the name of Gregory VII shortly after his invasion, so Henry had the equal good fortune of living at the time when the only Englishman who ever ascended the Papal Throne was Pope. Adrian IV, by name Nicholas Breakspear, was the Pope who granted Ireland to Henry.

Pope Adrian one would imagine was not one who would refuse his sanction to any act likely to redound to the credit of the Holy See. One incident well known but perhaps worth repeating here shows us at a glance that Adrian was in one sense a worthy successor of Gregory. The following description refers to the entrance of the Emperor into Rome.* “Great stress was laid on one part of the procedure,—the holding by the Emperor of the Pope’s stirrup for him to mount, and the leading of his palfrey for some distance. Frederick Barbarossa’s omission of this mark

* Bryce, p. 283.

of respect when Pope Hadrian IV met him on his way to Rome, had nearly caused a breach between the two potentates, Hadrian absolutely refusing the kiss of peace until Frederick should have gone through the form, which he was at last forced to do in a somewhat ignominious way."

Such was the Pope who at the request of King Henry granted his sanction to the subjection of Ireland to England.

The following is the document in question :*

"Hadrian, the bishop—the servant of the servants of God—sends health and apostolic benediction to his most dear son in Christ, the illustrious King of the Angli. Your magnificence employs your thoughts very meritoriously and happily in spreading a glorious name over the earth, and laying up a reward of eternal happiness in heaven. For you, like a Catholic Prince, proceed to extend the boundaries of the Church—to make known

* Rymer, *Fœdera "Constitutiones,"* 1, p. 15. Quoted by Whittle in "Catholicism and the Vatican."

the truth of the Christian faith to ignorant and savage tribes, to pluck up the seed-plants of evil from the soil of the Lord; and to accomplish your purpose more properly you seek the counsel and favour of the Apostolic See. In this undertaking we are confident that with the favour of the Lord you will make more successful progress in proportion as you proceed with higher purpose, and greater discretion; and our confidence is grounded in this, that all designs which have taken their beginning in ardour for the faith and love of religion, generally attain a happy result and termination.

“ Truly it is no matter of doubt that Ireland and all the islands upon which Christ, the sun of justice, hath shone, and which have received the evidence of that Christian faith, belong to the dominion of St. Peter and the Holy Roman Church, wherefore the more willingly do we plant among them a faithful shoot and seedling of the faith, inasmuch as we foresee

that it must be watched over steadily by us within that country.

“You have signified, indeed, to us, most dear son in Christ, that you wished to enter the island of Ireland, in order to subdue that people to the laws, and to pluck out the shoots of evil, and that you wished to pay to St. Peter for each house an annual tax of one penny, and to maintain the rights of the churches of that land unassailed and inviolate. We, therefore, attending your pious and laudable purpose with suitable approval, and bestowing a benign assent upon your request, declare it agreeable to the end approved by us that you should invade that island for the sake of extending the boundaries of the Church, of restraining the course of vice, of reforming morals and implanting virtues, for the increase of the Christian religion; that you should carry out what concerns the honour of God and his salvation; that the people of that island should with honour and reverence receive

you as Lord, saving, nevertheless, in perpetuity the inviolate and untouched rights of the churches, and saving to St. Peter and the Holy Roman See the annual payment of one penny for every house.

“If, therefore, the design which you have conceived you shall have determined to carry out with corresponding results, take care to train that nation in good morals, and endeavour that the Church there shall give honour as well through you as through those whom you shall have judged suited to this end from their faith, language, and mode of life, that the religion of the Christian faith should be introduced there and spread, and that all which relates to the honour of God and the salvation of souls should be so arranged that you may be able to obtain from God the crown of an eternal reward, and to receive a glorious name upon the earth ” &c., &c.

Many Irishmen, ecclesiastics as well as laymen, have been so opposed to the rescript of Adrian that they have declared it to be a

forgery. As however succeeding Popes have not hesitated to refer to it and have never in spite of urgent requests attempted to rescind it, one marvels at men throwing thus heedlessly a slur on the good faith of the Popes. That the letter was sent some years before Henry made use of it is not of the slightest avail in their attempts to lessen Papal authority in order to uphold the independence of Ireland.

If Gregory the Seventh was a Pope whose deeds were righteous, and what Priest could say they were not? then no Irish-man can without danger deliberately discredit the action not only of Adrian but of those succeeding Popes who as my readers will see, acted on the supposition that Adrian had done what was perfectly within his power.

It will be objected that the rescript is based on the supposed truth of the Donation of Constantine,* which is now admitted to be

* The following extracts are given by Gratian in the *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, Dist. xcvi, cc, 13, 14 (quoted by Bryce, p. 101):—"Et sicut nostram terrenam imperialem

a forgery. I do not see that this argument is of any avail, for I would say with De Maistre, "The moderns discover forgery where simplicity itself was only relating what it thought.

potentiam, sic sacrosanctam Romanam ecclesiam decrevimus veneranter honorari, et amplius quam nostrum imperium et terrenum thronum sedem beati Petri gloriose exaltari, tribuentes ei potestatem et gloriæ dignitatem atque vigorem et honorificentiam imperialem. . . Beato Sylvestro patri nostro summo pontifici et universali urbis Romæ papæ, et omnibus eius successoribus pontificibus, qui usque in finem mundi in sede beati Petri erunt sessuri, de præsentī contradimus palatium imperii nostri Lateranense, deinde diadema, videlicet coronam capitis nostri, simulque phrygium, necnon et superhumera, verum etiam et chlamydem purpuream et tunicam coccineam, et omnia imperialia indumenta, sed et dignitatem imperialem præsidentium equitum, conferentes etiam et imperialia sceptrā, simulque cuncta signa atque banda et diversa ornamenta imperialia et omnem processionem imperialis culminis et gloriam potestatis nostræ. . . Et sicut imperialis militia ornatur ita et clerum sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ ornari decernemus. . . . Unde ut pontificalis apex non vilescat sed magis quam terreni imperii dignitas gloria et potentia decoretur, ecce tam palatium nostrum quam Romanam urbem et omnes Italiæ seu occidentalium regionum provincias loca et civitates beatissimo papæ Sylvestro universali papæ contradimus atque relinquimus. . .

"Ubi enim principatus sacerdotum et Christianæ religionis caput ab imperatore cœlesti constitutum est, iustum non est ut illic imperator terrenus habeat potestatem."

There is nothing, therefore, so real as the Donation of Constantine."

But a still more decisive answer to those who in this matter wish to do away with Pope Adrian's bequest is the action of the Irish Episcopate at that time. Surely if any persons had a right to resent unlawful intrusion into Ireland it was the Bishops; if those Bishops sanction the Papal-authorized mission of Henry then certainly from an ecclesiastical point of view there is an end of all opposition.

In the year 1172 a Synod was held at Cashel, being the first year of Henry's dominion of Ireland. In that synod* Christian, Bishop of Lismore and legate of the Holy See, was present, also Donatus, Archbishop of Cashel, Laurence, Archbishop of Dublin, Catholicus, Archbishop of Tuam, with their suffragans and fellow-bishops, together with the abbots, archdeacons, priors, and deans, and many other Irish prelates assembled by the conqueror's command at the city of Cashel, and there

* Giraldus Cambrensis. p. 233. Bohn's ed.

held a synod concerning the well-being of the Church and the reformation thereof. At this synod were present, on the King's behalf, the venerable* Ralph, abbot of Buildewas, Ralph, archdeacon of Llandaff, Nicholas the chaplain, and other clerks, having the commission of our lord the King. The decrees of the synod were subscribed by the prelates, and confirmed by the royal authority; as follows:—

“*First.*—It is decreed that all the faithful throughout Ireland shall eschew concubinage with their cousins and kinsfolk, and contract and adhere to lawful marriages.

“*Second.*—That children be catechised outside the church doors, and infants baptized at the consecrated fonts in the baptisteries of the churches.

“*Third.*—That all good Christians do pay the tithes of beasts, corn, and other pro-

* With these names staring him in the face I am utterly at a loss to understand how the Abbé MacGeoghegan (Vol. II, p. 94) could write, “There is no mention made of any English bishops or doctors having assisted at this council of Cashel.”

duce, to the church of the parish in which they live.

“*Fourth.*—That all the lands and possessions of the Church be entirely free from all exactions of secular men; and especially, that neither, the petty kings (*reguli*), nor earls, or other great men in Ireland, nor their sons, nor any of their household, shall exact provisions and lodgings on any ecclesiastical territories, as the custom is, nor under any pretence presume to extort them by violent means; and that the detestable practice of extorting a loaf four times a year from the vills belonging to the churches, by neighbouring lords, shall henceforth be utterly abolished.

“*Fifth.*—That in the case of a homicide committed by laics, when it is compounded for by the adverse parties, none of the clergy, though of kindred to the perpetrators of the crime, shall contribute anything; that, as they were free from the guilt of the homicide, so they shall be also exonerated from any payment in satisfaction for it.

“*Sixth.*—That every good Christian, being sick and weak, shall solemnly make his last will and testament in the presence of his confessor and neighbours, and that, if he have any wife and children, all his moveable goods (his debts and servants’ wages being first paid) shall be divided into three parts, one of which he shall bequeath to his children, another to his lawful wife, and the third to such uses as he shall declare. And if it shall happen that there be no lawful child or children, then his goods shall be equally divided between his wife and legatees. And if his wife die before him, then his goods shall be divided into two parts, of which the children shall take one, and his residuary legatees the other.

“*Seventh.*—That those who depart this life after a good confession shall be buried with masses and vigils and all due ceremonies.

“*Finally.*—That divine offices shall be henceforth celebrated in every part of Ireland according to the forms and usages of the Church of England. For it is right and just that, as by

divine Providence, Ireland has received her lord and King from England, she should also submit to a reformation from the same source. Indeed both the realm and Church of Ireland are indebted to this mighty King for whatever they enjoy of the blessings of peace and the growth of religion; as before his coming to Ireland all sorts of wickedness had prevailed among this people for a long series of years, which now, by his authority and care of the administration, are abolished."

I have given this *in extenso* from Cambrensis, but it is to the final clause that attention should first be drawn. Such a clause signed by the Bishops of Ireland, who also had with them the legate, entirely prevents ecclesiastics from raising their voice against Adrian's Bull, as the Episcopate of Ireland sanctions Henry's advent, *which was based on the Bull*, and tacitly acquiesces in local usages being abolished, and all services, &c., harmonized with those in use by the See of Canterbury.

Bromton, Abbot of Joveval, in his Chronicle

remarks that King Henry* received from every Archbishop and Bishop, letters with their seals pendent, in manner of charters, whereby they confirmed the kingdom to him and his heirs. Hoveden† adds that the King sent a transcript of the Charters of the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland to Pope Alexander and that he confirmed them.

Apart from the ecclesiastical surrender of Ireland there is the no less important submission of the Irish King and other chieftains to Henry. After leaving Waterford Henry II moved towards Dublin, and on his journey all the chief men came and swore fealty to him. Roderic himself met the King's messengers, Hugh De Lacy and William Fitz-Aldelm, at the Shannon and sued for peace, acknowledg-

* Ware's "Antiquities" ("Annals," A.D. 1172).

† "A copy of these instruments was forwarded to the Pontiff, who by the Apostolic authority confirmed to Henry and his heirs the kingdom of Ireland, according to the form of the writings of the archbishops and bishops of Ireland."—*Hoveden, Annal.*, p. 302, quoted by Waterworth in "England and Rome."

ing Henry as his supreme lord, and became tributary to him and bound himself by various oaths.* Roger de Hoveden† remarks that a treaty was made between Henry and Roderic King of Connaught at Windsor‡ in 1175, in which the King of England grants to Roderic the Kingdom of Connaught on payment of certain annual tribute, and reserves to himself Meath, and Dublin, Waterford, and other parts of Leinster.

Miss Cusack (the Nun of Kenmare) thus explains what apparently she considers a mistake on the part of the Irish.§ “Mac Carthy of Desmond was the first Irish prince who paid homage to the English King. At Cashel, Donnell O'Brien, King of Thomond, swore fealty, and surrendered the city of Limerick. Other princes followed their example. The ‘pomp and circumstance’ of the

* Cambrensis, p. 231.

† Vol. I, p. 402, “Antiq. Lib.”

‡ Quoted in full in the Appendix.

§ “History of Ireland,” by M. F. Cusack, p. 271. Longmans, 1871.

royal court, attracted the admiration of a people naturally deferential to authority."

Of course it is not to be supposed that the Irish submitted placidly to Henry, but still surely to swear allegiance to a King is not generally supposed to be a mere form? Anyhow we know that Rome did not look at matters in that light, for in 1177 Courcy the Norman had numerous battles with the natives and this state of things led to Cardinal Vivianus the Pope's Legate calling a Council of Bishops and Abbots in Dublin wherein he set forth Henry's title to Ireland and "he enjoyn'd Obedience and Fidelity to all under pain of Excommunication."*

Before closing this chapter a few remarks must be made on the Bull of Adrian. First of all, rightly or wrongly the Pope claimed Ireland as especially being under the Holy See (see Bull). That this claim may have been based on a spurious document may be true, but still it was an admitted claim in

* Ware's "Annals" on year 1177.

those days and so had a certain amount of moral force. Later on in 1344* Luis de la Cerda caused the sovereignty of the newly-discovered Canary and other *islands* to be delivered over to him by Pope Clement VI.

But there were far stronger grounds mentioned in the Bull. Henry, be it always remembered, was not given that Island unconditionally, but was authorized to invade it "for the sake of extending the boundaries of the Church, reforming morals and implanting virtues." He was also to see that the tribute of Peter's pence was duly paid and the just rights of the Church preserved. Now it has been queried whether the Pope was not, to use plain English, swindled by Henry; was not led to imagine the morals of the inhabitants far worse than they were. This argument seems of no weight when it is borne in mind that Rome† had long before

* See Hergenröther, Vol. II, p. 155.

† Campion, the Jesuit, in his "Historie of Ireland," A.D. 1571 (p. 80) says that Adrian when a youth made a pilgrimage into Norway and converted the people and while

Henry's advent possessed through legates and other ecclesiastics a full and perfect knowledge of what was going on. St. Malachi as *an Irishman* gives St. Bernard such an account of Ireland that he exclaims "Nowhere were the people so stubborn as to manners, so bestial as to rites, so impious as to Faith . . so filthy as to life."* Cambrensis† who in what he saw was reliable, and he too was a Priest, remarks: "We come now to the clerical order. The clergy, then, of this country are commendable enough for their piety; and among many other virtues in which they excel, are especially eminent for that of continence. They also perform with great regularity the services of the psalms, hours, lessons, and prayers, and, confining themselves to the precincts of the churches, employ their whole time in the

there heard of the Irish the common report that the "multitude eft soone, grew to a shamelesse kinde of liberty, making no more of necessary points of Doctrine, than served their loose humour."

* Fr. Walsh, p. 267.

† Cambrensis, p. 141.

offices to which they are appointed. They also pay due attention to the rules of abstinence and a spare diet, the greatest part of them fasting almost every day till dusk, when by singing complines they have finished the offices of the several hours for the day. Would that, after these long fasts, they were as sober as they are serious, as true as they are severe, as pure as they are enduring, such in reality as they are in appearance. But among so many thousands you will scarcely find one who, after his devotion to long fasting and prayers, does not make up by night for his privations during the day by the enormous quantities of wine and other liquors in which he indulges more than is becoming.

“Dividing the day of twenty-four hours into two equal parts, they devote the hours of light to spiritual offices, and those of night to the flesh; so that in the light they apply themselves to the works of the light, and in the dark they turn to the works of darkness. Hence it may be considered almost a miracle,

that where wine has the dominion lust does not reign also. This appears to have been thought difficult by St. Jerome ; still more so by the apostles : one of whom forbids men to be drunken with wine, wherein there is excess : the other teaches that the belly, when it is inflamed by drink, easily vents itself in lust.

“ There are, however, some among the clergy who are most excellent men, and have no leaven of impurity. Indeed this people are intemperate in all their actions, and most vehement in all their feelings. Thus the bad are bad indeed—there are nowhere worse ; and than the good you cannot find better. But there is not much wheat among the oats and the tares. Many, you find, are called, but few chosen : there is very little grain but much chaff.”

So writes Cambrensis, and although the clergy of those days might have been much worse, yet surely it is no want of charity* to

* Campion the Jesuit who suffered martyrdom for the Faith in the reign of Elizabeth is not a witness whose

assert that they might have been much better? Whether a drunken priesthood ever yet tended to reform the morality of the laity is I should think a question which can only be answered by a negative.

I would willingly omit some testimony as to the need of reform, but be it remembered that the Popes are said to have been deceived or else to have urged false pretexts to gratify

evidence can lightly be aspersed. He writes, "it may appeare how much Ireland is beholding to God for suffering them to be conquered, whereby many of these enormities were cured, and more might be, would themselves be plyable." —*Campion's Historie of Ireland*, cap. vi, Bk. I, 1571. He tells an amusing tale which as exemplifying the tone of society in those days is worth preserving. "I found a fragment of an Epistle, wherein a vertuous Monke declareth, that to him (travailing in Vlster) came a grave Gentleman about Easter, desirous to be confessed and howseled, who in all his life time had never yet received the blessed Sacrament. When he had said his minde, the Priest demaunded him, whether he were faultlesse in the sinne of Homicide? Hee answered, that hee never wist the matter to bee haynous before, but being instructed thereof, hee confessed the murther of five, the rest hee left wounded, so as he knew not whether they lived or no. Then was he taught that both the one, and the other were execrable, and verie meekelie humbled himself to repentance."

ambition. Neither of these statements appear just or truthful as far as Ireland is concerned.

Cambrensis thus speaks of *the people* :* “ The faith having been planted in the island from the time of St. Patrick, so many ages ago, and propagated almost ever since, it is wonderful that this nation should remain to this day so very ignorant of the rudiments of Christianity. It is indeed a most filthy race, a race sunk in vice, a race more ignorant than all other nations of the first principles of the faith. Hitherto they neither pay tithes nor first fruits ; they do not contract marriages, nor shun incestuous connections ; they frequent not the Church of God with proper reverence. Nay, what is most detestable, and not only contrary to the Gospel, but to everything that is right, in many parts of Ireland brothers (I will not say marry) seduce and debauch the wives of their brothers deceased, and have incestuous intercourse with them.”

It is not only Cambrensis or St. Bernard who

* P. 134.

speak thus of the laxity then in vogue, but Pope Alexander III who ascended the Papal Throne in 1159 (succeeding Adrian IV) says,* "Which (Irish race) having cast aside all fear of divine punishment rush unbridled along the dangerous paths of vice, discard the sacred restraints of Christian faith and virtue, and destroy one another with mutual slaughter. . . They bring forth their step-mothers in public and are not ashamed to beget children from them; brother abuses his sister-in-law during his brother's life; one man cohabits with two sisters, making them his concubines; and very many of them leaving the mother introduce their daughters," &c.

* Alex. III, Ep. 1002 (Migne, T. CC, p. 883): "*Quae (sens Hibernica) divino timore post posito tanquam effrenis passim per abrupta deviat vitiorum et Christianae fidei religionem abjicit et virtutis, et se interimit mutua caede. . . . Novercas suas publice introducunt et ex eis non erubescunt filios procreare; frater uxore fratris, eo vivente, abutitur; unus duabus se sororibus concubinis immiscet et plerique illorum, matre relicta, filias introducunt,*" etc. This Latin is given in Hergenröther (Vol. II, p. 157). I am loth to translate it, but it is necessary that all my readers and not only a small section should see the good reasons the Popes had for active steps in reference to Ireland.

I do not think any further justification is needed for Pope Adrian's gift of Ireland to England.* Surely the chief bishop of the Christian Church must put the souls of the people before political considerations. With such a priesthood and such a people *living in an island* and so cut off from the intercourse which in the rest of Europe would enable the Popes with greater ease to crush such a state of things what else could he do? He had

* Campion also, on the subject of pre-Norman religion in Ireland says, " Although since the time of Saint Patricke Christianitie was never extinct in Ireland, yet the governement being hayled into contrarie factions, the Nobilitie lawlesse, the multitude willful, it came to passe that Religion waxed with the temporall common sort cold and feeble, until the Conquest did settle it, especiallie in cases of restraunte and Discipline. The Honourable state of Marriage they much abused, either in contracts, unlawfull meetings, the Leviticall and Canonically degrees of prohibition, or in divorcementes at pleasure, or in ommitting Sacramentall solemnities, or in retayning either Concubines or Harlots for Wives. Yea, even at this day, where the Cleargie is fainte, they can bee content to Marrie for a yeare and a day of probation, and at the yeares end, to returne her home uppon any light quarrells, if the Gentlewomans friendes bee weake and unable to avenge the injurie " (cap. vi).

found the advantage of a Norman conquest of England*—was it a matter of great wonder that he should look forward to a similar conquest of Ireland with great hopes of a moral regeneration as a result? Protestants as well as Catholics must equally applaud the sagacious step taken by Adrian IV.

* Joseph Berington a well known English Priest of the extinct Gallican school and who did not uphold the Papal sovereignty as much as he might have done, writes of the Norman conquest as follows: " Their arrival in this country gave a new life to religion, which was nearly extinct. In all parts of the country, in towns, villages, hamlets, churches and monasteries in a new style of building, were seen to rise: the Kingdom, as if regenerated, began to flourish, while every man of wealth seemed to think the day lost that some work of munificence did not illustrate."—*Literary History of the Middle Ages*, p. 166, Bogue's edit., 1846.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE POPES DENOUNCE IRISH REBELLION.

ALTHOUGH ultimately the Popes proved right in subjecting the intellectual and warm-hearted but too impulsive and vindictive Celtic race to the Norman yoke yet the immediate results were not of a satisfactory nature. The compact between King Henry of England and the Pope was not kept and consequently the Irish suffered. It must for ever be remembered that Pope Adrian's gift of Ireland to the Norman-English was not an unconditional gift but was hampered with certain conditions* which if carried out would materially benefit the conquered race. But the fact was that Henry could not govern with a sufficiently

* See previous chapter for contents of Bull.

tight hand his Norman knights and hence the great evils and abuses which were co-existent with Norman-English rule. I have tried to point out the coincidences between the Norman conquest of England and that of Ireland, and certainly the former event will help us in understanding clearly the want of kingly control exercised over the barons, and the evil also of the too domineering character of the Norman Kings.

William I, though praised by the reigning Pope, was declared not to be by any means, perfect; the King himself when on his death-bed acknowledged that he had acted in an arbitrary manner; "Whether nobles or commons," he says, "I have cruelly oppressed them; many I unjustly disinherited; innumerable multitudes, especially in the county of York, perished through me by famine or sword."*

On the other hand none better than the Norman Duke knew the character of his own

* "Ordericus Vitalis," B. VII, ch. xv.

race, and he expresses his opinion thus:*

“The Normans, when under the rule of a kind but firm master, are a most valiant people, excelling all others in the invincible courage with which they meet difficulties, and strive to conquer every enemy. But under other circumstances they rend in pieces and ruin each other. They are eager for rebellion, ripe for tumults, and ready for every sort of crime. They must therefore be restrained by the strong hand of justice, and compelled to walk in the right way by the reins of discipline. But if they are allowed to take their own course without any yoke, and like an untamed colt, they and their princes will be overwhelmed with poverty, shame, and confusion. I have learnt this by much experience. My nearest friends, my own kindred, who ought to have defended me at all hazards against the whole world, have formed conspiracies, and rebelling against me, nearly stripped me of the inheritance of my fathers.”

* “Ordericus Vitalis,” B. VII, ch. xv,

Henry unfortunately did not stay long in Ireland himself, and those left by him were almost independent of his authority and took advantage of the many disturbing political questions which distracted the attention of the King and also rendered him unwilling to keep in order his nobles with a too tight hand lest the country should practically become the property of the barons instead of his own possession.

In spite however of unjust and tyrannical usage of the people by the barons there was the one great fact to be remembered—that the King and minor Kings of Ireland had sworn allegiance to Henry, that the clergy collectively had also followed their example, and last but not least that Ireland which professed in that day as in this to be pre-eminently Catholic was bestowed by the head of the Catholic Church on the English King. This being the case, it certainly would seem that if the Irish rose in rebellion against the English Sovereign they were absolutely nothing but Rebels.

This I know has been denied not only by Protestant Irish patriots, who of course deny the Papal Sovereignty, but by Catholic writers even. I once myself took a similar line,* but I fail now to see the lawfulness of rebellion against a King who had been acknowledged Sovereign *by the native Kings, princes, and Catholic Episcopate !*

However, those who in our time, as in those days, oppose English rule and justify rebellion then and disaffection now, may try and get rid if they can of the strong condemnation pronounced by the then Sovereign Pontiff against all attempts to throw off English rule.

* If one looks at the progress or prosperity or the apparent object of National prosperity from the "platform" (to use an American phrase) that God makes use of nations to further His own ends, namely, the salvation of souls, then a new light is cast on many questions ; then the wonderful world-wide influence of England must have a good cause for its enduring success. As a Catholic I can see only one reason and that is that the more the English people emigrate, colonize and rule, so in like proportion the Irish population knit up with her destinies Catholicises the peoples over whom she extends her sway. Ireland's mission is a Catholic mission and apparently nothing else.

It has been said by controversialists, and also by politicians who have endeavoured to utilize the once fashionable No-Popery cry, and thus gain a social and political position which otherwise they could never attain, that the Papal influence in Ireland is now and ever has been diametrically opposed to English interests. A greater perversion of fact has never been stated : the Popes have systematically put down all attempts at severance of Ireland from England ; and that not only when both countries were Catholic, but all honour to the Popes be it said, they were never more determined in their condemnation of rebellion than when the rebels were Catholics and those whom they supported bigoted English Protestants.* No grander

* Once only did the Popes support Irish insurrection, and that was when they utilized the Irish to support the Spanish cause against England. One swallow does not make a summer ; and it is moreover doubtful if the Popes even then intended to do more than make use of the Irish to help to re-Catholicise England, and not by any means to free them from the English yoke.

feature in the Popedom exists than the vision of Catholic Irishmen being condemned by the Popes for striving to throw off the Protestant House of Hanover !

The Popes have always looked on English Catholics with a favourable eye. Take for an example (and many might be quoted) the feeling of admiration expressed for England by Pius VII. Cardinal Wiseman has remarked,* "The present Church at Moorfields, which now serves as the pro-cathedral of the diocese of Westminster, was finished in 1820. It was considered then a spacious and handsome building. A perspective drawing of its interior was sent to Rome, and presented by the Rev. Dr. Gradwell to the Pope. The good Pius immediately said that he would send a token of his affectionate interest in the work. The papal treasury and sacristy were very empty ; but he ordered the most valuable object in Church plate which he possessed to be prepared for a present. His attendants remarked that it

* "Recollections of the Last Four Popes," p. 91.

was the most costly thing he had : and his reply was, ' There is nothing too good for me to give the English Catholics.' "

I suppose there is something in the stolid yet open and above-board character of the English which has a peculiar fascination for the Italian mind. Even Italians of an anti-Catholic tendency have ever pointed to England as a country whose example is worthy of esteem and admiration ; and indeed why deny it ? It is true that England is now Protestant, but its Protestantism was forced on it by the Tudor Kings who were unchecked by an old nobility, that old nobility having been almost annihilated in the wars of the Roses ; hence the Regal power had no barons to check its despotism and so the mushroom nobility which was created by Henry VIII and his successors was only too willing to gain court favour by fawning on a King who knew how to award honours and money to those who furthered his arbitrary schemes. Those Wars of the Roses were the real origin

of the Reformation in England. The fact that the English people did not wish for the Reformation is now, thanks to honest historical inquiry, acknowledged on all sides. If risings in the north, in the east, in the west show the feelings of a nation then truly it may be said that Protestantism was forced* on a people whose instincts were then as indeed they are now, Catholic. Ritualism so far as it makes way with the people is but the filling up a void which has been felt,—the poetry of life, the refinement of feeling which is everywhere the accompaniment of Catholicism is taught and brought to light, though in an imperfect manner by the Ritualistic party; hence its popularity. Without that longing for Catholicism, the imitation offered for their acceptance would have met with no success, but the latent Catholicism in the English mind is through prejudice kept

* “Modern history is a history of Church spoliation. And by whom? Not by the people; not by the democracy.”—*Disraeli's Coningsby*, Bk. VII, chap. ii.

from our Churches and hence the Church of England being the Law-Church of the Land is doing that for us which owing to the calumnies heaped on us for three centuries we are yet unable to do ourselves. As prejudice vanishes, so, to use Lord Beaconsfield's notable saying, "Mass in Masquerade" will cease to fill the void—the longing for the Old Faith, and once again Englishmen will return to the bosom of that Church *which they never left*, but which the tyranny of a race of Kings unchecked by an old nobility, deprived them.

These side considerations are not unworthy of thought, but I now leave them and return to the immediate subject before us, the Papal denunciation of Irish Rebellion.

As in England so in Ireland the barons did not carry out the orders of their Sovereign and in Ireland the Sovereign had not so much power as in England. Abuses quickly sprang up—the victors tyrannized over the unlucky Irish, and the King got the credit for what they did. Less than

fifty years after Henry's advent we find the Pope using his influence to suppress active Irish disaffection to Norman rule. Pope Honorius III ascended the Papal throne A.D. 1216, and so rife was disaffection that he sent the following epistle to the Archbishop of Dublin, ordering him to compel the Irish to return to the obedience of the King of England. I give the document in full in Latin and English.

“*Archiepiscopo Dublinensi, ut rebelles Hibernos ad obedientiam regis Angliae redire compellat.* Reg. An. I, epist. 172.*

“*Honorius, Episcopus, etc. Venerabili fratri . . . Archiepiscopo Dublinensi, salutem, etc. Non iam magis militia, quam malitia dici potest vita hominum super terram, cum frigescente caritate sic habundet iniquitas, ut non solum deseuiat par in parem, sed etiam contra dominum subditus erigere se presumat, sicut in regno Anglorum evenisse*

* *Epistolæ Honorii P.P. III, Anno 1216 (ex “Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum, etc.”—Augustinus Theiner. Romæ, Typis Vaticanis, 1864).*

cernimus et dolemus, illis karissimum in Christo filium nostrum H. Anglie Regem illustrem naturalem dominum suum, vinculo fidelitatis abrupto, nequiter impugnantibus, qui pro eius honore tuendo usque ad mortem deberent utique decertare : usque adeo autem invaluit malitia perfidorum, ut nonnulli etiam de regno Hybernæ in consilium abierint eorundem, et ponentes suam cum impiis et infidelibus portionem, non solum dolos contra Regem concinnare studeant memoratum, verum etiam assertis eundem iniuriis lacescere non formident. Quoniam igitur ad occurrendum tribulationibus dicti Regis multiplex quidem ratio nos inducit, quippe cum ecclesie Romane vassallus, ac pupillus, ac cruce signatus existat, et tam ipsum quam regnum eius custodie nostre ac apostolice sedis commiserit clare memorie pater eius positus in extremis : fraternitati tue, de cuius fide ac prudentia gerimus fiduciam specialem, per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatenus illos, qui de prefato regno Hibernie in iam dicti Regis

devotione persistunt, ad eam ferventius animare studeas sollicite ac sollerter, et eos, qui abalienati retrorsum conversi a dextera in sinistram a fidelitate regia recesserunt, ad eandem studeas, quibuscumque modis expedire videris, revocare. Nos enim agendi ea, que ad hoc esse cognoveris necessaria, liberam tibi concedimus auctoritate presentium potestatem, ratas habituri sententias, quas rationabiliter tuleris in rebelles. Datum Laterani XVI. Kalendas Februarii, Pontificatus nostri anno primo."

TRANSLATION.

"To the Archbishop of Dublin, that he may compel the Irish in rebellion to return to the obedience of the King of England.

"Honorius, Bishop, &c. to our venerable brother . . . the Archbishop of Dublin, greeting &c.

"The life of men on earth may be called not so much a warfare (militia) as malice

(malitia), since while charity is freezing iniquity abounds to such a degree that not only like rages against like but even the subject presumes to lift himself up against his lord, as we perceive to have happened in the kingdom of England. We grieve to see that, having broken the bond of fealty, they wickedly assail our most dear son in Christ, Henry, the illustrious King of England, their natural lord, for whom they ought to strive even unto death in defending his honour. But to such an extent has the malice of traitors prevailed that some of them have even left the kingdom of Ireland and, casting in their lot with the impious and faithless, not only contrive snares for the said King but do not fear to provoke him with actual injuries. Since, therefore, manifold reasons induce us to support the said King in his tribulation, inasmuch as he is a vassal, and a ward of the Roman Church, signed with the sign of the cross, and his father of happy memory, when in his last extremity, entrusted him

and his kingdom to our custody and that of the apostolic see, we, by apostolic letters, enjoin upon you, brother, in whose faith and prudence we have special confidence, that you should endeavour earnestly and wisely to animate to higher devotion those of the aforesaid Kingdom of Ireland who are already devoted to the said King, and that you would try, by all means that appear to you expedient, to bring back to their allegiance those who are alienated and turned from the right path to the left. We grant you, by the authorisation of these letters, the free faculty of doing those things which you know to be indispensable for the purpose, and we shall ratify the decisions that you will reasonably arrive at with regard to the rebels.

“Given at the Lateran, the XVI before the Kalends of February (Jan. 17), in the first year of our Pontificate.”

It is here necessary to observe that the Pope does not hesitate to call those who were in arms against the King, Rebels. The old

argument that Ireland was not conquered is evidently considered utterly worthless by the Popes, and indeed as I have more than once remarked, the submission of the King of Ireland, of the minor Kings, of the clergy and nobility constitute a conquest *in fact*, unless words are never to have any meaning attached to them.

This Papal communication to the Archbishop of Dublin was sent A.D. 1216 and was followed three years later by another Epistle, but differing from the former one inasmuch as it was written owing to the Irish *prelates* being disloyal to their Sovereign. This latter Epistle is addressed to his legate and is as follows:—

“Eidem, ut Hiberniae praelatos ad servitia regi Angliae debita persolvenda compellat. Reg. An. III, epist. 318.*

“Honorius, Episcopus, etc. Dilecto filio P. Norwicensi Electo, camerario nostro, apostolice sedis legato, salutem, etc. Suam ad

* Honorius, P.P. III. Anno 1219.

nos karissimus in Christo filius noster H. Rex Anglorum illustris querimoniam destinavit, quod prelati ecclesiarum de Hibernia servitia, in quibus ratione regalium et feudorum, que habent ab ipso, nec non alia debita, in quibus ex aliis causis tenentur eidem, tamdiu maxime toto tempore guerre indebite subtraxerunt, nec adhuc super hiis satisfecerunt eidem. Nolentes igitur predicti Regis iustitiam deperire, quam tenemur favorabiliter confovere, discretioni tue per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatenus predictos ecclesiarum prelatos, ut super hiis eidem Regi debitam satisfactionem impendant, et de cetero ea sine difficultate persolvant, moneas attentius et inducas, eos ad id, si videris expedire, per censuram ecclesiasticam, appellatione remota, compellens. Datum Laterani IV. Kalend. Aprilis, Pontificatus nostri anno tertio."

TRANSLATION.

"To the same, to the end that he may oblige

the Irish prelates to render the service due to the King of England.

“Honorius, Bishop, &c. To our beloved son, P. bishop-elect of Norwich, our chamberlain, legate of the Apostolic see, greeting &c.

“Our dearest son in Christ, Henry, the illustrious King of England, has addressed a complaint to us to the effect that the prelates of the Church of Ireland have so long, and especially in the whole time of the war, unduly withheld the service to which they are bound in respect of regal rights and feudal tenures, as well as other debts which they owe to the same sovereign from other causes, and have not as yet made satisfaction for these to the same.

“Therefore being unwilling that the justice of the aforesaid King should go to ruin, which justice it is our duty to favour and cherish, we commend to your discretion by apostolic writings that you admonish and induce the above-named prelates of the churches to

render due satisfaction for these things to the said King, and for the rest to pay the things owing without raising any difficulty, and that you would compel them to this, if it seems to you expedient, by ecclesiastical censure without appeal.

“Given at the Lateran, the 4th day before the Kalends of April (March 29), in the third year of our Pontificate.”

The Irish Prelates are more directly dealt with than the rebellious laity. The Pope authorizes the legate to inflict *ecclesiastical censure without appeal*.

Once again it will occur to most readers,—how could Ecclesiastics who acknowledged the Pope to be Sovereign Pontiff and Vicar of Christ on Earth refuse to return to obedience if ordered by the Pope? It is evident from these two important documents that even less than fifty years after the conquest of Ireland the Popes considered Ireland to be entirely subject to English rule. If at that early period it was so, in what light could a Pope

in modern times look on the '98 rebellion or the Fenian rising of our own times?

The Popes are and always have been consistent in their treatment of the relationship of Ireland to England. If Ireland had been in morals and religion perfectly spotless, then it might seem hard that the Popes should sanction Henry's conquest, but when the evidence of moral decline which I have in former chapters somewhat fully gone into be remembered, then Catholics, to say nothing of Protestants, must needs bow to the wisdom of Papal authority.

If one thing more than another has struck me in reading these Papal records from Theiner's most valuable work, it is the even-handed justice meted out by the Popes to both sides. The Irish when they rebel are severely admonished, but on the other hand when the English treat them unjustly none more than the Popes denounce such doings and censure the conduct of the English and their King.

I shall in the next chapter give a few important and generally unknown instances of this Papal justice; it should inspire men with more charity towards that Power which in the past did so much for European civilization, and in our day would exercise power in an equally beneficial manner were but one half the trust bestowed in her now by the Monarchs of Europe which in those days was given and so worthily (in nearly all cases) repaid.



CHAPTER IX.

PAPAL CONDEMNATION OF ENGLISH TYRANNY.

HENRY VIII when crossed in his desires by the Pope made no scruple of flinging over the creed of his ancestors. Englishmen of the upper classes when bribed with money and land unjustly taken from the monasteries of England did not hesitate also to embrace Protestantism.

What a contrast is the by no means praiseworthy lust of money and power, rather than maintainence of truth, exhibited by the English of the Tudor period, when compared with the firm attachment to the See of Rome by Ireland, even when the Popes felt it their duty to aid in perpetuating the rule of the Norman, accompanied as it was by cruelty and fraud ! If the cases had been reversed, it is impossible,

considering Reformation doings in England, to suppose that Englishmen would, after reading such Papal documents as those I have given in the last chapter, have submitted to Rome, and borne the rule of those who certainly were little better than tyrants. Certainly then no praise is too great to give Catholic Celtic Irishmen of the 12th and 13th centuries for their maintenance of the Catholic Faith at the expense of what they justly might conceive their freedom from an alien race. There is a further consideration which will strike the Catholic reader and very probably the non-Catholic also, and that is the providential care which seemed to guide the Roman Pontiff at that time. He risked the renunciation of Catholicism by large masses of the Celts, he also ran the risk of being considered the friend of the oppressor and abettor of tyranny, and yet we in this nineteenth century see how an apparent evil has turned into an almost unmitigated good. Perhaps it will not be considered profane if, I, pondering over these

striking illustrations of a Providential guidance of the Holy See in most difficult political troubles, cannot forbear exclaiming — *Sicut erat in principio, et nunc, et semper, et in sæcula sæculorum!* It must not however for one moment be supposed that Rome although wishing at all risks to perpetuate the Norman conquest of Ireland, as well as the previous one of England, was therefore disposed to overlook the gross injustice which the Norman freebooters exercised. Pope Honorius A.D. 1220, while he condemned all attempts of civilians or clerics (see last chapter) to overthrow Norman rule, denounced most strongly the attempt to prevent Irishmen being admitted equally with the Normans to ecclesiastical posts; and also their endeavours to oust Irishmen from other posts to which they might justly claim a right. The two following documents speak for themselves.*

“Sedis apostolicæ legato, ut iniquum Anglorum statutum de non admittendis Hibernis

* Honor. P.P. III, 1220.

quantumvis litteratis ad dignitates ecclesiasticas omnino irritum declaret et aboleat. Reg. An. V. epist. 24.

“Honorius, Episcopus, etc. Dilecto filio Magistro Iacobo Capellano et Penitentiario nostro, apostolice sedis legato, salutem etc. Pervenit ad audientiam nostram, quosdam Anglicos inaudite temeritatis audacia statuuisse, ut nullus clericus de Ibernia, quantumcumque litteratus et honestus existat, ad aliquam dignitatem ecclesiasticam assumatur. Nolentes igitur tante temeritatis et iniquitatis abusum surdis auribus pertransire, presentium tibi auctoritate mandamus, quatinus statutum huiusmodi publice denuntians irritum et inane, ac inhibens ipsis Anglicis, ne vel inherere illi, vel simile decetero attemptare presumant. Ibernenses clericos, quibus vite ac scientie merita suffragantur, denunties ad ecclesiasticas dignitates, si electi canonice fuerint, libere admittendos. Datum apud Urbemveterem viii Idus Augusti, Pontificatus nostri anno quinto.”

TRANSLATION.

“To the Legate of the Apostolic See, that he may pronounce utterly void and may abolish the iniquitous decree of the English respecting the non-admission of Irishmen however well-educated to ecclesiastical dignities.

“Honorius, Bishop, &c. To our beloved son, Chaplain and Penitentiary, Master James, Legate of the Apostolic See, greeting. It has come to our ears that certain Englishmen have, with the audacity of unheard-of rashness, decreed that no Irish clergyman, however well-instructed and honest he may be, shall be admitted to any ecclesiastical dignity. Being, therefore, unwilling to turn a deaf ear to an abuse so full of rashness and injustice, we authorize you by these letters to denounce a statute of this sort publicly as void and vain, forbidding the English themselves from presuming to adhere to it or attempt the like in future. You may nominate to ecclesiastical dignities Irish clerks whose deserts as regards

knowledge and mode of life are well attested, and you may admit them freely if they have been canonically elected. Given in the old city the eighth day before the Ides of August in the fifth year of our Pontificate.”

XXXVIII.*

“Eidem legato, ut pravas quasdam Anglorum contra Hibernos consuetudines omnino abolendas curet, Anglosque censuris ecclesiasticis compellat, ut Hibernos iisdem iuribus, quibus ipsi fruuntur, gaudere sinant. Reg. An. V, epist. 22.

“Honorius, Episcopus, etc. Dil. filio Magistro Jacobo Capellano et Penitentiario nostro, apostolice sedis legato, salutem etc. Venerabilis frater noster. . . . Archiepiscopus Cassellensis exposuit coram nobis, quod in provincia sua detestande consuetudinis vitium per Anglorum insolentiam inolevit, quod videlicet si Anglicus aliquid de suis ammittat, et iurat illud ab aliquo Ibernensi furtim sibi esse surreptum, sex Anglicis iuramento firmantibus,

* Theiner.

quod credunt eius verum existere iuramentum, Ibernenses licet innocentes sint, et bone opinionis ac vite, suamque super obiecto crimine innocentiam per triginta testes vel plures sint purgare parati, ad restitutionem coguntur nichilominus tamquam fures. Si vero aliquod Ibernenses ammittunt, et pro certo sciunt, quod Anglicus surripuit illud eis, idque suis velint astruere iuramentis, Anglici eorum iuramenta recipere contradicunt, et sic utroque casu conculcata iustitia, ecclesiis ac eorum hominibus grave preiudicium generatur. Cum igitur pondus et pondus, mensura et mensura utrumque sit abominabile apud dominum, discretioni tue per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatinus non obstante prefata consuetudine, vel potius corruptela, quam censemus penitus abolendam, dictis Anglicis expresse inhibeas, ne talia decetero attemptare presumant, sed prorsus ab huiusmodi perversitate cessantes, pusillum et magnum pari permittant iudicio iudicari, et examinari divitum causas et pauperum equa lance, cum in

iudicio divinitus interdicta sit acceptio personarum. Quod si contra prohibitionem tuam per abusionem huiusmodi aliquos presumpserint molestare, tu presumptionem ipsorum auctoritate nostra compescas. Datum apud Urbemveteram vi Idus Augusti, Pontificatus nostri anno quinto.”

TRANSLATION.

“To the same Legate, that he would take care to have certain practices of the English against Irishmen utterly abolished, and would compel the English by means of ecclesiastical censures to allow Irishmen to enjoy the same rights which they themselves possess.

“Honorius, Bishop, &c. To our beloved son, Master James, our Chaplain and Penitentiary, Legate of the Apostolic See, greeting, &c.

“The Archbishop of Cashel* has related to us how, in his province, an odious custom has sprung up through the insolence of the English, so that—to explain the matter—if an Englishman loses something that belongs to him, and

* See *Appendix* concerning the Pope and this Prelate.

swears that it was taken from him by stealth by some Irishman, and six English affirm the same on oath declaring that they believe their countryman's oath to be true and valid, although the Irish may be innocent and persons of blameless life and reputation and ready to prove their innocence of the crime laid to their charge by thirty witnesses or more, they are nevertheless compelled to make restitution as thieves. But if the Irish lose something and know for certain that an Englishman has stolen it from them, and are willing to attest that on oath, the English refuse to accept their oaths; and thus in both cases justice is trampled under foot and grievous ill is engendered to the churches and their members. Since therefore false weights and false measures are an abomination to the Lord, we commit to your prudence by Apostolic writings that, in spite of the aforesaid custom or rather corruption, which we consider ought to be utterly abolished, you expressly forbid the said English to presume to attempt such

things in future, and warn them that on the contrary they cease altogether from this kind of perversity and allow small and great to be judged with fair and equal judgment and the causes of rich and poor with equal balance, since the acceptance of persons in courts of justice is forbidden by divine law. But if, in defiance of your prohibition, they presume to molest any persons by an abuse of this sort, do you restrain their presumption by our authority. Given in the Old city on the 6th day before the Ides of August, in the 5th year of our Pontificate."

It is much to be regretted that but slight improvement followed these efforts of the Holy See. It is well known how the Irish in the reign of Edward II besought aid from Scotland later on against the Normans, and with what success history bears witness.

At last a pitiful appeal* was made not by one or two individuals but by a whole people

* Quoted in full by the Abbé MacGeoghegan, Vol. II, 279, and taken by him from the "Scotic Chronicle" of John of Fordun, Vol. III, p. 908 *et seq.*

to Rome. The following is the document in question:—

“To our Most Holy Father John, by the grace of God sovereign Pontiff, we, his faithful children in Christ Jesus, Donald O'Neill, King of Ulster and lawful heir to the throne of Ireland; the nobles and great men, with all the people of this Kingdom, recommend and humbly cast ourselves at his feet, &c.

“The calumnies and false representations which have been heaped upon us by the English, are too well known throughout the world, not to have reached the ears of your Holiness. We are persuaded, most Holy Father, that your intentions are notwithstanding, most pure and upright; from not knowing the Irish, however, except through the misrepresentation of their enemies your Holiness might be induced to look upon as truths, those falsehoods which have been circulated, and to form an opinion contrary to what we merit, which would be to us a great misfortune. It is, therefore, to save

our country against such imputations, that we have come to the resolution of giving to your Holiness, in this letter, a faithful description and a true and precise idea of the real state at present of our monarchy, if this term can be still applied to the sad remains of a Kingdom which has groaned so long beneath the tyranny of the Kings of England, and that of their ministers and barons, some of whom, though born in our island, continue to exercise over us the same extortions, the same rapine and cruelties as their ancestors before them have committed. We shall advance nothing but what is true and correct, and we humbly hope, that in hearkening to the voice of truth, your Holiness will not delay to express and manifest your disapprobation against the authors of those crimes and outrages which shall be revealed.

“The country in which we live was uninhabited before the three sons of a Spanish prince named Milesius, according to others Micelius, landed in it with a fleet of thirty

ships; they had come from Cantabria, a city on the Ebro, from which river they called the country to which Providence guided them, Ibernia, where they founded a monarchy that embraced the entire of the island; their descendants, who never sullied the purity of their blood by a foreign alliance, have given one hundred and thirty kings, who during the space of three thousand five hundred years and upwards, have successively filled the throne of Ireland till the time of King Legarius, from whom he who has the honour of affirming these facts is descended in a direct line. It was under the reign of this prince, in the year 435, that our patron and chief apostle St. Patrick, was sent to us by Pope Celestinus, one of your predecessors; and since the conversion of the Kingdom through the preaching of that great saint, we have had till 1170, an uninterrupted succession of sixty-one Kings, descended from the purest blood of Milesius, who, well instructed in the duties of their religion, and faithful to their God, have proved them-

selves fathers of their people, and have shown by their conduct, that although they depended in a spiritual light upon the holy apostolical see of Rome, they never acknowledged any temporal master upon earth. It is to those Milesian princes, and not to the English or any other foreigners, that the church of Ireland is indebted for those lands, possessions, and high privileges with which the pious liberality of our monarchs had enriched it, and of which it has been almost stripped, through the sacrilegious cupidity of the English. During the course of so many centuries, our sovereigns, jealous of their independence, had preserved it unimpaired. Attacked more than once by foreign powers, they were never wanting in either courage or strength to repel the invaders, and secure their inheritance from insult. But whatever might be effected against strength and power, nothing could be accomplished in opposition to the will of the pontiff.

“ His Holiness Pope Adrian, to whose other great qualities we bear testimony, was a native

of England and particularly attached to his country in heart and disposition. The national prejudices he had imbibed early, blinded him to such a degree, that on receiving a false and unjust statement of our country, he determined to transfer the sovereignty of it to Henry, King of England, under whom, and perhaps by whom, St. Thomas of Canterbury had been murdered for his zeal in defending the interests of the church: instead of punishing this prince as his crime merited, and depriving him of his own crown, the kind pontiff hath torn ours from us to gratify his countryman, Henry II, and without pretext or offence on our part, or any apparent motive on his own, he hath stripped us, by the most flagrant injustice, of the rights of our crown, and left us a prey to men, or rather to monsters, who are unparalleled in cruelty: more cunning than foxes, and more ravenous than wolves, they surprise and devour us; and if sometimes we escape their fury, it is only to drag on, in the most disgraceful slavery, the wretched remains

of a life more intolerable to us than death itself. When, in virtue of the donations which have been mentioned, the English appeared for the first time in this country, they at first exhibited every mark of zeal and piety; and whereas they excelled in every species of hypocrisy, they neglected nothing to supplant and undermine us imperceptibly. Emboldened from their first successes, they soon removed the mask; and without any right but that of the strongest, they obliged us, by open force, to give up to them our houses and our lands, and to seek shelter, like wild beasts, upon the mountains, in woods, marshes and caves; and even there, we have not been secure against their fury; they even envy us those dreary and terrible abodes; they are incessant and unremitting in their pursuits after us, endeavouring to chase us from among them; they lay claim to every place in which they can discover us, with unwarranted audacity and injustice: they allege that the whole country belongs to them

of right, and that an Irishman is no longer permitted to remain in his own country. From thence arise the implacable hatred and dreadful animosity between the English and the Irish, one against the other; this continued hostility, those bloody retaliations and innumerable massacres, in which, since the invasion of the English to the present time, more than fifty thousand lives have been lost on both sides, besides those who have fallen victims to hunger, to despair, and the rigours of their captivity. Lastly, they are and have been the cause of all the pillaging, robbery, treachery, treason, and every disorder which it is impossible for us to allay in the present state of anarchy under which we live; an anarchy fatal not only to the state, but likewise to the church of Ireland, whose members are now, more than ever, exposed to the danger of losing the blessings of eternity, after being deprived of those of this world.

“Behold, most holy father, a brief description of all that has reference to our origin, and

the miserable condition to which your predecessor has brought us. We shall now inform your holiness of the manner in which we have been treated by the Kings of England. The permission of entering this Kingdom, was granted by the holy see to Henry II and his successors, only on certain conditions, which were clearly expressed in the bull which was given them. According to the tenour of it, Henry engaged to increase the church revenues in Ireland, to maintain it in all its rights and privileges, to labour, by enacting good laws, in reforming the morals of the people, and in eradicating vice and encouraging virtue. Lastly, to pay to the successors of St. Peter an annual tribute of one penny for each house. Such were the conditions of the bull. But the Kings of England and their perfidious ministers, so far from observing them, they have uniformly affected to violate them in every way, and to act in direct opposition to them. First, as to the church lands, instead of extending their boundaries,

they have contracted, curtailed and invaded them so generally and to such a degree, that some of our cathedrals have been deprived, by open force, of more than one half of their revenues. The persons of the clergy have been as little respected as their property. On every side we behold bishops and prelates summoned, arrested, and imprisoned by the commissioners of the King of England; and so great is the oppression exercised over them, that they dare not give information of it to your holiness. However, as they are so dastardly as to conceal their misfortunes and those of the church, they do not merit that we should speak in their behalf. We once had our laws and institutions: the Irish were remarkable for their candour and simplicity; but the English have undertaken to reform us, and have been unfortunately but too successful: instead of being, like our ancestors, simple and candid, we have become, through our intercourse with the English, and the contagion of their example, artful and

designing as themselves. Our laws were written, and formed a body of right according to which our country was governed. However, with the exception of one alone, which they could not wrest from us, they have deprived us of those salutary laws and given us some of their own making. Oh, God! what kind of laws were these? If inhumanity and injustice were leagued together, none could have been devised more deadly and fatal to the Irish. The following will give your holiness some idea of their new code—these are the fundamental rules of English jurisdiction established in this kingdom:—

“ ‘ 1st. Every man who is not Irish, may, for any kind of crime, go to law with any Irishman, whilst neither layman nor ecclesiastic, who are Irish (prelates excepted), can, under any cause or provocation, resort to any legal measures against his English opponent.

“ ‘ 2nd. If an Englishman kill an Irishman in the act of treason which frequently occurs,

of whatsoever rank or condition the Irishman may be, noble or plebeian, innocent or guilty, clergyman or layman, secular or regular, were he even a bishop, the crime is not punishable before our English tribunal ; whereas on the other hand, the more the sufferer has been distinguished among his countrymen, either for his virtue or his rank, the more the assassin is extolled and rewarded by the English and that not only by the vulgar, but by the monks, bishops, and what is more incredible, by the magistrates themselves, whose duty it is to punish and repress crime.

“ ‘3rd. If any Irishwoman whosoever, whether noble or plebeian, marry an Englishman, on the death of her husband she becomes deprived, from her being Irish, of a third of the property and possessions of her husband.

“ ‘4th. If an Irishman fall beneath the blows of an Englishman, the latter can prevent the vanquished from making any testamentary deposition, and may likewise take possession of all his wealth.—What can be more strange

than a law that deprives the church of its rights, and reduces men, who had been free from time immemorial, to the rank of slaves?

“‘5th. The same tribunal, with the co-operation and connivance of some English bishops, at which the Archbishop of Armagh presided, a man who was but little esteemed for his conduct, and still less for his learning, made the following regulations at Kilkenny, which are not less absurd in their import than for their form. The court, say they, after deliberating together, prohibits all religious communities, in that part of Ireland of which the English are in peaceful possession, to admit any into them but a native of England, under a penalty of being treated by the King of England, for having contemned his orders, and by the founders and administrators of the said communities, as disobedient and refractory to the present regulation. This regulation was not needed ; whereas, from the time of its enactment, the English Dominicans, Franciscans, Benedictines, regular canons, and all

the other communities of their countrymen, observed it but too faithfully. In the choice of their inmates they have evinced a partiality the more shameful, as the houses for Benedictines and canons, where the Irish are now denied admittance, were intended by their founders to be an asylum open to people of every nation indiscriminately. Vice was to be eradicated from amongst us, and the seeds of virtue sown. Our reformers have acted diametrically the opposite character; they have deprived us of our virtues, and have implanted their vices amongst us,' " &c., &c., &c.

This pitiful appeal met with a careful consideration and although the Pope abstained from confirming the remark of the petitioners that Adrian's grant was given in consequence of false pretences yet he denounced once again as his predecessor had done before him the wrongfulness of the tyranny complained of and the danger even to which the English monarchs would ultimately expose themselves if such a course were persisted in.

“IOHANNES P.P. XXII, ANNO 1318.

“Regi Angliae, ut Hibernos amanter tractare velit, nec a suis vexari sinat in damnum donationis Henrico regi de terra Hiberniae ab Hadriano P.P. IV factae. Reg. An. Secret. Tom. II, fol. 144.”

“Iohannes, Episcopus, etc. Carissimo in Christo filio Eduardo Regi Anglie Illustri, salutem, etc. Paternum morem ad tue celsitudinis incrementa, fili carissime, gerimus, dum te ad ea, que iusto placent iudici, tue Regni, terrarum et subditorum tuorum sint oportuna quieti, et fame tue pariter et honori prospiciant, sollicitis exhortationibus invitamus. Propter quod in hiis persuasiones nostras devota debes mente suscipere, et ad executionem illarum te pronum et flexibilem exhibere. Ecce, fili, quasdam recipimus litteras, directas pridem per Ybernicos Mag-nates et populum dilectis filiis nostris Gaucelino tituli sanctorum Marcellini et Petri presbitero,

et Luce sancte Marie in Vialata diacono Cardinalibus, apostolice sedis nunciis, et per quos nobis suis interclusas litteris destinatas, in quorum serie vidimus inter cetera contineri, quod cum felicitis recordationis Adrianus papa predecessor noster sub certis modo et forma distinctis, apertius in apostolicis litteris inde factis, clare memorie Henrico Regi Anglie progenitori tuo dominium Ybernie concessit, ipse Rex ac successores ipsius Reges Anglie usque ad hec tempora modum et formam huiusmodi non servantes, quin immo eos transgredientes, indebite diris afflictionibus, et gravaminibus inauditis, importabilium servitutum oneribus, et tyrannidibus inhumanis ipsos eo miserabilius et intolerabilius, quo diutius oppresserunt. Nec fuit hactenus, qui revocaret illata gravamina, aut errata corrigeret, non fuit, quem pia compassio super eorum contritione moveret, quamvis super hiis ad te recursus habitus fuit, et clamor validius oppressorum aures tuas quoque pulsarit. Verum talia ferre nequeunt ulterius, coacti sunt se a dominio

tuo subducere, et alium in suum regimen advocare. Hec, dilectissime fili, si veritate nitantur, tanto nimirum in festiora nostris accedunt affectibus, quanto desiderimus intentius, te, ut tibi prospera cuncta cedant, circa illa versari sedule, eaque promptis affectibus exequi, que tuo sint placita creatori, et ab omnibus abstinere sollicite, per que contra te debeat provocari deus ipse, ac dominus ultionum, qui gemitus afflictorum iniuste minime despicit, et qui propter iniusticias peculiarem suum deiecisse describitur populum, et transactionem fecisse Regnorum: quanto etiam desiderabilius hiis presertim impacatis temporibus cupimus, te illis libenter intendere, per que tuorum corda fidelium ad tuam benivolentiam et obedientiam debeant allici, et illa pro se vitare, quibus valeant a tue cultu devotionis avelli. Quia itaque, fili, tua non modicum interest, huius nove mutationis pensare dispendium quamplurimum expedit, ut hec non negligantur turbationis inicia, ne illis periculose

crescentibus sero medicine remedia preparantur: Excellentiam Regiam Sollicitamus attente presentibus, sano nichilominus consilio suadentes, quatenus hec prudenti meditatione considerans, et cum tuo discreto consilio conferens super illis, circa premissorum gravaminum correctionem ac reformationem debitam et festinam viis et modis decentibus sic sufficienter provideri mandes et facias, sic discriminosis principiis in hac parte obstare procures, quod et illi, per quem regnas et regis, placidum accedere valeat, et te in hiis efficaciter implente, quod debes, cuiusvis adversum te iuste querele materia conquiescat, per quod iidem Ybernici saniori ducti consilio tibi in domino pareant, aut si, quod absit, incepta rebellionem manere voluerint, causam suam in apertam iniusticiam, te apud deum et homines excusato, convertant. Ut autem de predictis gravaminibus et querelis, quibus predicti innituntur Ybernici, tuis sensibus innotescat ac plenum, prescriptas litteras missas Cardinalibus antedictis cum anima

(sic) formam litterarum, quas predictus Adrianus, predecessor noster, eidem Henrico Regi Anglie de terra Ybernie concessisse dicitur, continente, tue magnitudini mittimus presentibus interclusas. Datum Avinione III Kal. Iunii, Pontificatus nostri anno secundo."

TRANSLATION.

"POPE JOHN XXII, A.D. 1318.

"To the King of England, that he would treat the Irish lovingly, and not allow them to be harassed by his subjects, to the detriment of the gift of the land of Ireland to King Henry made by Pope Adrian IV.

"John, Bishop, &c. To our dearest son in Christ, Edward, the illustrious King of England, greeting, &c.

"We entertain, most dear son, a paternal solicitude for the increase of your greatness, while with earnest exhortation we invite you to those measures which are pleasing to the just Judge and conducive to the peace of

your Kingdom, lands and subjects, no less than to your fame and honour. You ought, therefore, in these matters to receive our admonitions with a devout mind and to show yourself ready and pliant in their execution. We are, my son, in the receipt of certain letters addressed some time ago by Irish magnates and the Irish people to our beloved sons, Gaucelinus, Cardinal priest of the title of SS. Marcellinus and Peter, and Luke, Cardinal Deacon of St. Mary in Via Lata, nuncios of the Apostolic See, by whom came the letters designed for us enclosed in their own, in the series of which letters we see contained, among other matters, that, whereas Pope Adrian our predecessor of happy memory granted very explicitly, under distinct conditions of form and mode, in apostolic letters framed accordingly, the Kingdom of Ireland to your progenitor, Henry, King of England of illustrious memory, the King himself and the Kings of England his successors up to the present time, not observing such pre-

scribed form and mode, but on the contrary transgressing them, have unduly oppressed the Irish with dire afflictions, unheard of burdens, the weight of insupportable servitude and inhuman tyranny, ever increasing in pitiable and unbearable severity as time goes on.

“And although recourse has been had to you in respect of these things, and the cry of the oppressed has more loudly reached our ears, there has not yet arisen any one to revoke the burdens imposed and to correct the errors fallen into, no one whom pious compassion for their misery could move. Unable any longer to bear such oppression, they have been driven to withdraw themselves from your dominion, and to call in another to take the rule.

“If these reports, most beloved son, are based on truth, they certainly outrage our feelings all the more in proportion as we intensely desire that you should sedulously attend to your affairs in order that they may

all prosper in your hands, and that you should with prompt and affectionate earnestness execute those things which may please your Creator, and carefully abstain from all which must of necessity provoke against you God Himself, the Lord of Vengeance, Who disregards by no manner of means unjustly the groans of the afflicted, and Who is described as having overthrown this peculiar people on account of their unrighteous doings and having transferred Kingdoms from the like cause. These reports, we say, distress us just in proportion as we desire more earnestly, especially in these disturbed times, that you would apply yourself to those things by which the hearts of your faithful subjects must be drawn towards good will and obedience in your regard, and that you would on their account avoid those things by which they may be torn from their respect and devotion to you. Since, therefore, my son, it concerns your interests in no small degree, it is above all things expedient that you think of the cost of this new

change in the state of affairs, so as not to neglect the commencement of disturbances, lest through their perilous increase the remedial medicine be provided too late.

“We earnestly exhort your Excellent Majesty by these letters, persuading you, however, with wholesome counsels, that, considering these matters prudently and thoughtfully, and conferring with your learned council on the subject, you would command and cause that, in respect of the aforesaid heavy burdens, due and speedy correction and reformation be so adequately provided in a becoming manner and way, and that you would take care to put a stop to perilous commencements and undertakings in this behalf. We exhort you to this that it may avail to please Him by Whom you reign and rule, and that, while you fulfil these requirements as you ought, the substance of every just complaint against you may be set at rest; by which means these same Irish, led by wiser counsels, may yield you obedience, or, if (which may God avert) they are determined

to continue in the rebellion they have commenced, they may convert their own cause into such open injustice as will serve to excuse you in sight of God and men. But in order that you may have full perception and knowledge of the afore-mentioned grievances and complaints on which the said Irish take their stand, we send your Mightiness, inclosed in the present, the letters previously spoken of that were sent to the before-named Cardinals containing the form together with the sense of the letters which Pope Adrian, as we have already said, our predecessor, is reported to have granted to the same Henry, King of England, respecting the land of Ireland.

“Given at Avignon, the third day before the Calends of June (May 30) in the second year of our Pontificate.”

With this solemn denunciation by Pope John XXII of English tyranny I close this chapter.

I trust the inquiry made into the connection of Ireland *with the Holy See* from the earliest

times until the firm settlement made by the Normans will be conducive to a true view of the history of those times. It need hardly be said that I hold no Brief for Rome but have been led purely by a longing to get at the bottom of a much controverted subject. I began studying it with an utter distrust of the wisdom or justice of the Roman support of the Norman Conquest of Ireland, and finish by seeing not only by nineteenth century facts, the wisdom of the action of the Popes in those days, but that the actual state of Ireland then, rendered the advent of fresh blood and a new race absolutely necessary.





APPENDIX.

THE following documents will be of use to the student. The Charter at Windsor speaks for itself. The Irish Magna Charta shows that the same freedom which Englishmen obtained was cheerfully given to the Irish. The Papal document relative to the Archbishop of Cashel is instructive as showing very plainly what I have so often insisted on, namely, the careful manner in which the Popes endeavoured to meet out strict justice not only to the conquering Norman but to the conquered Irish.

THE CHARTER OF AGREEMENT AT WINDSOR IN
1175 BETWEEN THE KING OF ENGLAND
AND RODERICK, KING OF CONNAUGHT.

(Referred to on page 172.)

Charter of Agreement at Windsor A.D. 1175 (or
1177), "*Hanmer's Chronicle*" 1571, *Dublin*
edit. of 1809, p. 287, &c.

"Hic est finis et concordia quæ facta fuit
apud Windesore, in Octabis Sancti Michaelis,
Anno gratiæ 1175. Inter Dominum Regem
Angliæ Henricum secundum; et Rodericum
Regem Conaciæ, per Catholicum Tuamensem
Archeepiscopum et Abbatem C. Sancti Bran-
dani, et Magistrum Laurentium Cancellarium
Regis Conaciæ.

"I. Scilicet quod Rex Angliæ concedit pre-
dicto Roderico Ligio homini suo Regnum
Conaciæ quamdiu ei fideliter servret, ut sit

Rex sub eo, paratus ad servitium suum, sicut homo suus et ut teneat terram suam, ita bene & in pace sicut tenuit antequam Dominus Rex Angliæ intraret Hiberniam ; reddendo ei tributum : et totam illam terram & habitatores terræ habeat sub se, & justiciæ ut tributum Regi Angliæ integrè per solvant, & per manum ejus sua jura sibi conservet, & illi qui modo tenent, teneant in pace, quam diu mansuerint in fidelitate Regis Angliæ, & fideliter & integre persolverint tributum & alia jura sua quæ ei debent, per manum Regis Conaciæ, salvo in omnibus jure & honore Domini Regis Angliæ & suo.

“2. Et si qui ex eis Regi Angliæ, & ei rebelles fuerint, & tributum & alia jura Regis Angliæ, per manum ejus solvere noluerint, & a fidelitate Regis Angliæ recesserint, ipse eos justitiet & amoveat, & si eos per se justitiare non poterit ; Constabularius Regis Angliæ & familia sua de terra illa juvabunt eum ad hoc faciendum, quum ab ipso fuerint requisiti, & ipsi viderint quod necesse fuerit, &

propter hunc finem reddet predictus Rex Conaciæ Domino Regi Angliæ tributum singulis annis ; scilicet, de singulis decem animalibus, unum corium placibile mercatoribus, tum de tota terra sua quan de aliena.

“ 3. Excepto quod de terris illis quas Dominus Rex Angliæ retiniut in dominio suo, & in dominio Baronum suorum nihil se intromittet : Scilicet Duvelina cum pertinentiis suis, & Midia cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, sicut unquam *Murchart Wamai Leth Lachlin*, eam meluis & plenius tenuet, aut aliqui qui eam de eo tenuerint. Et excepta Wesefordia cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, scilicet cum tota Lagenia, & excepta Waterf. cum tota terra illa quæ est a Waterf. usque ad Dungarvan ; ita ut Dungarvan sit cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, infra terram illam.

“ 4. Et si Hibernenses illi qui aufugerint redire voluerint ad terram Baronum Regis Angliæ, redeant in pace reddendo tributum predictum quod alii reddunt, vel faciendo antiqua servitia quæ facere solebant pro terris

suis, et hoc sit in arbitrio Dominorum suorum, et si aliqui eorum redire noluerint, Domini eorum et Rex Conaciæ accipiat obsides, ad omnibus quos ei Comisit Dominus Rex Angliæ ad voluntatem Domini Regis et suam, et ipse dabit obsides ad voluntatem Domini Regis Angliæ illos vel alios, et ipsi servient Domino de Canibus et Avibus suis singulis annis de presentis suis, et nullum omnino de quacunque terra Regis sit, retinebunt contra voluntatem Domini Regis. Hiis testibus Richardo Episcopo Wintoniæ, Gaufrido Episcopo Eliensi, Laurentio Duveliensi Archiepiscopo, Gaufrido, Nicolao, et Rogero Capelanis Regis, Guilelmo Comit. Essex, et aliis multis."

TRANSLATION.

This is the termination and agreement which was come to at Windsor, in the Octave of St. Michael, in the year of grace, 1175, between the Lord King of England, Henry the Second, and Roderick, King of Connaught, through the Catholic Archbishop of Tuam and

the Abbot C. of Saint Brandan and Master Laurence, Chancellor of the King of Connaught.

I. Namely, that the King of England grants to the aforesaid Roderick Ligius, his man, the Kingdom of Connaught, so long as he serves him faithfully, so that he may be King under him, ready for his service as his man, and that he may hold his land just as he held it well and peacefully before the Lord King of England entered Ireland; rendering him tribute: and that he may have all that land and the inhabitants of the land under him, and that they may render the tribute of justice entirely to the King of England, and by his hand may preserve to themselves their own laws and rights, and those who now hold may hold in peace as long as they shall remain in fidelity to the King of England and faithfully and entirely yield tribute and other rights which they owe to him through the hands of the King of Connaught, the right and honour of the Lord King of England and his own right and honour being maintained inviolate.

2. But if any of them be rebels against the King of England and against him and are unwilling to pay the tribute and other rights of the King of England by his hand, and withdraw from their allegiance to the King of England, let him judge them and set them aside, and if he is not able to judge them by himself the Constable of the King of England and his own family from that country will assist him in doing this when they shall be required by him and they shall see themselves what is necessary ; and for this end the aforesaid King of Connaught shall render tribute to the King of England every year, that is to say, for every ten beasts one hide acceptable to merchants, as well from the whole of his own land as from that of others.

3. None of those lands shall be excluded from the operation of this agreement excepting what the King of England has retained under his own dominion and in the dominion of his Barons : that is to say Dublin with its appurtenances, and Midia (Meath) with all

its appurtenances, as Marchant Wamai Leth Lachlin (Mac Loughlin?) has ever held it very well and very completely, or some other persons have done so who held it of him: Excepting also Wexford with all that belongs to it, that is to say the whole of Lagenia, and excepting Waterford with all that land which lies between Waterford and Dungarvan, so that Dungarvan with all its belongings be included under that land.

4. But if those Irishmen who have fled wish to return to the land of the Barons of the King of England, let them return in peace, on condition of rendering the aforesaid tribute which others render, or of performing the ancient service which they were in the habit of performing for their lands; and let this be at the disposal of their lords; and if any of them are unwilling to return, let their lords and the King of Connaught accept hostages from all those whom the Lord King of England has committed to him according to the will and disposal of the Lord King and his

own will; and he himself shall give as hostages, according to the will of the Lord King of England, those persons or others, and they shall serve him their lord with their dogs and their birds every year out of their present holdings, and shall keep back nothing whatever, of whatsoever land of the King's it may be, contrary to the will of the Lord King.

Whereof are witnesses, Richard, Bishop of Winchester; Godfrey, Bishop of Ely; Laurence, Archbishop of Dublin; Godfrey, Nicholas and Roger, Chaplains to the King, William, Earl of Essex, and many others.

THE IRISH MAGNA CHARTA, GRANTED BY
HENRY III, 1216.

“ Henry, by the grace of God, King of England, Lord of Ireland, Duke of Normandy, Aquitaine and Earl of Anjou, to the archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, barons, justiciars of forests, vice-earls, prefects, ministers, citizens, bailiffs and faithful subjects, greeting.

“ Be it known to you that we, out of respect to God and for the welfare of our soul and those of our predecessors and successors, to the honour of God and for the exaltation of holy church and the improvement of our Kingdom, by the advice of our venerable fathers, Guale, lord Cardinal-priest of the title of St. Martin, legate of the Apostolic See, P. Bishop of Winchester, L. Bishop of Asaph, &c., &c., &c. (here follow the names of the signitaries), and others your faithful subjects, have first of all conceded to God and confirmed by this our present Charter, for ourselves and for our heirs for ever, that the Irish Church shall be free and have its own rights intact and its liberties unimpaired.

“ We have granted also to all freemen of our Kingdom for ourselves and our heirs for ever all the liberties here inscribed to be had and held by them and their heirs from us and our heirs: If any one of our earls or barons, or others holding of us in chief by military service shall be dead and when he died his heir was

of full age and owed a relief, he may have his inheritance by paying the ancient relief: that is to say the heir or heirs of an earl for the entire barony of an earl a hundred pounds; the heir or heirs of a baron for the entire barony of a baron a hundred pounds; the heir or heirs of a knight for the entire fief of a knight a hundred shillings at the most; and he who shall owe less may give less according to the ancient custom of fiefs.

“But if the heir of any one of such persons shall be under age, his lord shall not have custody of him or of his land before he has taken his act of homage; and after such an heir shall have been in ward and shall have come to full age, namely one and twenty years, let him have his inheritance without relief or term; yet in such a manner that if he himself whilst under age shall have been a knight the land may nevertheless remain in the keeping of his lord even to the aforesaid term.

“The guardian of this land and the heir under age may not take from the land of the heir

any but reasonable produce and reasonable customs and reasonable services, and these without destruction or devastation of men or things; and if we shall have entrusted the keeping of any such land to a vice-earl or to any one else who is bound to answer to us for the fruits of that land, and he shall make havoc or waste of the land in charge, we will cause him to make amends and the land to be entrusted to two legal and discreet men of that fief who may be answerable to us for the produce or to him to whom we may have assigned them; and if we shall have given or sold the custody of any such land to any person and he has then caused destruction or devastation, let him lose that custody and let it be delivered over to two legal and discreet men of that fief who may thenceforth answer to us in like manner as beforesaid.

“ But let the guardian, so long as he may have the keeping of land, preserve in good condition the houses, parks, warrens, preserves, fish-ponds, lakes, mills, &c., belonging to that

land for the produce of the same ; and let him render to the heir when he shall have come to full age the whole of his land put in good condition in respect of carriages and all other things, at least according as he has received them. Let all these same things be observed in respect of the guardianship of episcopates, archiepiscopates, abbeys, priories, vacant churches and dignities, except that custodies of this kind ought not to be sold. Let heirs marry without alliance with one of inferior rank or condition. Let a widow after her husband's death, have her marriage portion and inheritance immediately, nor let her give anything for her dowry or marriage settlement or inheritance, which inheritance her husband and herself have held up to the day of the husband's death ; and let her remain a widow in her husband's house for forty days after the death of her husband ; during which days let her dowry be assigned to her unless it has been assigned to her before, or unless that house was an encampment, and if she has withdrawn

from the camp let a suitable house in which she may dwell honourably be provided for her as far as the dowry assigned to her may allow, according to what was said before.

“ Let no widow be obliged to marry so long as she wishes to live unmarried ; yet in such wise that she give security that she will not marry without our consent if she holds land of us, or without the consent of her lord if she holds it of another.

“ We or our bailiffs will not seize any land or revenue for any debt so long as the actual cattle of a debtor suffice for paying the debt and the debtor be ready to satisfy the claims : nor let the recognizance of the debtor himself be distrained so long as the chief debtor is equal to the discharge of the debt ; and if the chief debtor has failed in discharging it, not having wherewith to pay, or is unwilling to pay when he can, let the sureties answer for the debt ; and if they will, let them have the lands and revenues of the debtor until satisfaction is made to them for the debt which before they

paid for him ; unless the chief debtor has shewn that he remains quiet in respect to the said sureties.

“ The City of Dublin may have all its ancient liberties and free customs. We will and grant moreover that all other cities, towns and boroughs, and all harbours have all their liberties and free customs.

“ No one may be constrained to perform more service for a Knight’s fief or for any other free tenement than is due from it.

“ Let common synods not follow our royal courts but be held in some fixed place.

“ Let not recognitions for a fresh disseizing, for the death of a predecessor, or for a final presentation, be taken except in their proper counties and in this manner. We, or if we are out of the Kingdom, our chief justiciar, will send two justiciari through each county four times a year, who with four knights of each county elected by the county may hold the previously announced assizes of the county in the county and on the day and place determined.

“And if the county-assizes previously announced cannot be held on the proper day, let so many knights and free tenants remain, out of those who are present in the provincial assembly on that day, as may suffice for delivering judgment according to what the business may be, small or great.

“Let not a free man be amerced for a slight offence except in proportion to the offence, and for a great crime according to the greatness of the crime, without taking away his livelihood; and a merchant in like manner without destroying his merchandise; and let a villein in like manner be amerced, saving his carts and ploughs if he have fallen to our mercy.

“And let none of the aforesaid acts of mercy take effect except by the oath of honest and legal men of the neighbourhood.

“Let Earls and Barons be amerced only by their peers and only according to the measure of their crime.

“Let no clergyman be amerced except according to the form of the aforesaid and not

according to the size of their ecclesiastical benefice.

“ Let neither a village nor a person be obliged to make bridges from bank to bank except such as they are bound to build of old time and by law.

“ Let no vice-earl, constable, coroners or others, bailiffs of ours, hold the synods appertaining to our crown. If any one dies holding of us a lay fief and a vice-earl or bailiff of ours shows our letters patent for demanding the debt which the deceased owed to us, let it be lawful for the vice-earl or our bailiff to tie up and schedule the cattle found in a lay fief to acquit that debt, by the supervision of legal men, yet in such a way that nothing be removed thence until the whole of the debt that was clearly owing be paid to us, and let the remainder be left to the executors for carrying out the will of the deceased ; and if nothing be due from the deceased himself let them give up all the cattle except their reasonable shares for his wife and children.

“ Let no constable or his bailiff take the corn or cattle of anyone not of the village where his camp is, unless he immediately pays the money arising thence or may be able to have regard in that particular to the will of the seller ; but if he be of the village he should be bound to pay the value within three weeks.

“ Let no constable constrain any knight to give money for the custody of the camp if he himself wishes to perform it in his own person, or by some other honest man, if he himself is unable to do it from some reasonable cause ; and if we have led him or sent him into the army he shall rest from keeping guard according to the length of time in which he shall have been in the army for our service.

“ No vice-earl or bailiff of ours or any other person may take horses or carts of any one for carting unless he pay the quittance decreed of old : that is to say, for a cart with two horses ten pence a day, and for a cart with three horses fourteen pence a day. Neither we nor our bailiffs will take another's wood to the camp or

to any other labour of ours except by the will of him to whom the wood belongs.

“ We will not hold the lands of those who have been convicted of felony except for a year and a day and then let the lands be rendered to the lords of the fiefs. And let all weirs be removed in future along the whole of the Liffey and throughout the whole of Ireland, except the sea coast.

“ Let a brief called a *precipe* not be made in future for any one in respect of any tenement whence a freeman may lose his court (curia).

“ Let one measure of wine be throughout our entire kingdom and one measure of beer, and one measure of wheat that is a quarter of Dublin; and one width of dyed cloths, russet and haberjects, that is to say two ells within the lists.

“ Let there be the same rule with regard to weights as to measures.

“ Let nothing be given in future for a brief of inquisition respecting life and limbs, but let it be granted gratuitously and not denied.

“ If any one holds of us by a farm of fief or socage or burgage and if another holds land by military service, we will neither have custody of his heir nor of his land which is of another’s fief by reason of that farm of fief or socage or burgage. Nor will we have custody of that farm of fief or socage or burgage unless that fief-farm owes military service.

“ We will not have custody of an heir or of any land which he holds of any one for military service by occasion of any small serjeanty which he holds of us through the service of rendering us knives or arrows or things of this kind.

“ Let no bailiff bring any one in future to the law by simply addressing words to him, without faithful witnesses to this being adduced.

“ Let no free man be taken or imprisoned or disseised or outlawed or banished or ruined in any other way. Nor will we go over him nor send over him except by legal judgment of his peers or by the law of the land.

“ We will sell to no man, deny to no man, or differ right or justice.

“ Let all merchants, unless they have previously been prohibited, be safe and secure to go out of Ireland and to enter into Ireland and to remain and travel through Ireland, as well by land as by water, to buy and to sell, without all those evils removed by ancient and right customs, except in time of war. And if they are of the land at war with us, and if such are found in our country in the beginning of the war, let them be put under restraint without injury of person or property until it be known from us or from our chief justiciar how the merchants of our country are treated who are found at that time in the land that is at war with us. And if ours are uninjured there, let the others be safe in our country.

“ If any one holds of some escheat as of honour Wallingford, Nottingham, Bolonia, Lancaster, or other escheats, which are in our hands and are baronies, and he dies, let not his heir give any relief nor do any other

service to us than he would do to the baron if that land were in the hand of the baron, and we will hold it in the same manner as the baron held it.

“Let the men who remain outside a forest not come in future before our justiciars of forests by common summonses, except they are in the royal synod or sureties of some person or persons who are attached for a forest.

“Let all men who have founded abbeys whence they have charters of the Kings of England or ancient tenure, have charge of them when they are vacant, as they ought to have and as was before declared.

“Let all forests that were made forests in the time of King John, our father, be immediately disforested, and so let it be done with regard to banks and coasts which were placed in defence in the time of the same King John and by him.

“Let no one be taken or imprisoned on account of the appeal of a woman in respect

to the death of any one except her own husband.

“ But let all in our kingdom, as well clergy as laity, preserve, so far as concerns them in regard to their own people, all those aforesaid customs and liberties which we have granted to be retained in our Kingdom so far as concerns us towards our own people.

“ But because in the former charter some clauses were contained which appeared severe and doubtful, namely, respecting scutage and aid to be supplied, concerning the debts of Jews and others, liberty of leaving our Kingdom and returning to our Kingdom, concerning forests and forestiars, warrens and warreners, the customs of the public assemblies of provinces, banks and coasts and their custodians, it seemed good to the aforesaid prelates and magnates that those things should be under consideration until we shall have a fuller council, and then we will do more fully in respect to these and to other things which require amendment that which pertains

to the common utility of all and to the peace and stability of ourselves and our Kingdom.

“But because we have not yet a seal we have caused the present charter to be sealed with the seals of the venerable father our lord Guale, Cardinal priest of the title of S. Martin, legate of the Apostolic See, and William Mareschal, Earl of Pembroke, our rector and rector of our Kingdom.

“In the presence of the aforementioned and many others.

“Given by the hand of the aforesaid lord legate and William Mareschal, at Bristol, the 12th of November, in the first year of our reign.”*

N.B.—The word *villa*, translated “village” on pp. 255, 256, as used in Henry III’s time is very indefinite. Sometimes it meant a city, sometimes a town, village or hamlet, a mere assemblage of houses, or a space including grounds applied to

* This is translated from the Latin document given on page 65 of the “Historical and Municipal Documents, Ireland,” 1172-1320. Published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls. 1870.

various uses. In short, there is scarcely any place not sometimes included in "*villa*," as Du Cange says explicitly.

Many of the expressions in this translation appear bald and uncouth because the customs to which they allude are altogether obsolete. The great similarity between the *Magna Charta* of King John and this one will at once strike the reader. The prominent part assigned to Cardinal Guale is worthy of notice.

POPE HONORIUS III ON CERTAIN GRIEVANCES
OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF CASHEL.*

This somewhat lengthy document is of interest and well worth reading as showing how perfectly unbiassed the Popes were, and the extreme justice with which they endeavoured to weigh, deliberate and decide the many difficult matters which came before them. No English law court could have dealt more calmly with the matter in dispute than the Pope with the complex troubles brought before his tribunal by the Archbishop of Cashel.

* Translated from Theiner (XLVI, p. 18).

TRANSLATION.

“To the Legate of the Apostolic See, that he would examine and report concerning certain customs in Ireland for the abolition of which the Archbishop of Cashel had obtained apostolic letters.

“Honorius, Bishop, &c. To our beloved son, Master James, our Chaplain and Penitentiary, Legate of the Apostolic See, greeting, &c. The more ready assent we in our justice yield to the prayers of petitioners, the more scrupulously ought everyone to beware lest, under pretext of seeking justice at our hands, he falsely obtain our confidence and provoke calumny against us and injury of public law and right. Our very dear son in Christ, Henry, the illustrious King of England, has intimated to us by his ambassadors and letters that Our venerable brother, the Archbishop of Cashel, represented to us formerly that he was not able as yet to get back the possessions of the Church of Cashel unjustly retained by a number of

persons and especially the new villa of Cashel and other property of the same church of which the noble G. de Marisco, justiciary of Ireland, and his accomplices, had improperly despoiled her. Although the King had been particularly informed of this, he—the Archbishop of Cashel—begged our letters to the said sovereign, in order that he, causing the aforesaid villa and other things, of which the prelate had been iniquitously despoiled, to be restored, would defend him in matters concerning justice and liberty, and would support him so that the King might himself deserve our commendation, and so that you, to whom we committed the conduct of the affair, might not be distressed in any way. But it was recently answered in our presence on the King's part that he would willingly defend the Archbishop and his Church, provided that he did not incur any detriment in his own rights. But although the same Archbishop seems in this matter to make just pretensions, he nevertheless contrives to inflict a serious

injury on the said King. For since it is shown to be a matter of old and approved custom, yea, since it is the common law of the Kingdom of England and Ireland, that no one under lawful age instituted to those belongings which his father possessed in peace at the time of his death should be exposed to an action at law until he has completed his one-and-twentieth year, and it is evident that John his father of illustrious memory was as it were in peaceful possession of this right at the time of his death and in possession of the things demanded by the Archbishop, that ought not to be denied to a King which is not denied to others in the Kingdom, great or small. His Majesty defends himself in this business by another right also, for since things of this kind are feudal, he ought not to be impleaded except before peers of his court. It was also set forth on the King's part in our presence that from the time in which the English entered Ireland by the command of the Holy Apostolic See and subjected it to the obedience of the Roman

Church, respect being had to the fierceness of the Irish, lest it should break out any further, necessity and usefulness being taken into account, it was introduced as a custom, and has hitherto been quietly observed, that if by chance an Irishman has furtively purloined anything from an Englishman, and the Englishman has sworn with six other Englishmen that the thing was really robbed from him by the Irishman, the latter should be obliged to restore the object stolen.

“ But the aforesaid Archbishop, maliciously suppressing the reasons why this custom was introduced and firmly established, besought and obtained letters to the same King, so that notwithstanding the existence of a custom or corruption, as it was called, of this kind, we determined to prohibit the English from its use as a thing rather to be abolished, and restrained those who should in future attempt to act upon it from presuming on the royal authority. We were therefore immediately requested on the King’s part not to permit any

change to be made in regard to the custom in question, since that could not be done without irreparable damage to both nations. Besides this, the aforesaid Archbishop and his suffragans, complaining that Barons and other laymen settled in their dioceses retain the possessions belonging to their churches and occupy them for the most part unjustly, and that few of them are now left, though they do not hold these or any royal property from the King, the prelates themselves and their people are obliged to appear and answer before a secular judge. We addressed our papers to the same King, and forwarded them, desiring that he would cause abuses of this kind to be abolished, and the property taken possession of by the said laymen to be restored, giving, nevertheless, commission to you by these letters, and prescribing that you, having summoned such persons as should be called to your assistance, would execute our commission justly and obviate every impediment in the way of appeal. To which it was

answered on the part of the said King that since the possessions are lay property, and tenure is held by ancient and approved custom, yea, according to the law of both Kingdoms, if a question is mooted concerning a matter of this sort also between masters and vassals, he causes justice to be administered in his own court to every one making a complaint, so that no one person can implead another except before him. Those things only excepted which are bestowed purely as alms, the King ought not in such matters to be deprived of his jurisdiction, being ready to administer full and complete justice to all who seek it. To this the oft-mentioned Archbishop replied complaining that the English in fact, remaining in his province, occupy unjustly the possessions of the clergy and construct defences in the same, and, when Englishmen go away, hold possessions of churches and of clergymen of his province under annual tribute which they cause to be paid. Bailiffs of the King occupy these lands

by violence, and collect the fruits of the same until the heirs of the deceased attain their majority, although the prelates of the churches to whom the possessions belong ought to reap the fruits. We addressed our letters to the same monarch in order that, causing what had been unjustly abstracted from the aforesaid churches and clergymen to be restored, he would, by the power entrusted to him, restrain his bailiffs and others from exactions and oppressions of this kind. Hereupon it was stated in reply on the King's part that since possessions in Ireland of clergymen, Barons and others, were rendered uninhabitable for the English by reason of their being unprotected by any camps, while war was almost constantly raging between the English and Irish, it had been prudently determined, as well by clergymen as by laymen, that unless those who had possessions of this kind made encampments within a given boundary, it should be lawful for the King to raise defences therein from that time forward: whereupon

the Archbishop endeavoured craftily enough to abolish a statute of this sort, to the heavy cost and damage of the King himself; and in another particular he had suppressed such a truth as, if he had expressed it, he would in no way whatever have been able to obtain the letters. For since it is kept as an inviolate custom by all prelates as well as laymen established throughout England and Ireland that if a vassal of any master depart hence leaving as his heir a minor under one and twenty years of age, the lord or master, keeping the heir with all his goods under his custody until the prescribed age, disposes of all his movable goods and revenues according to his good pleasure, the King enjoys in this matter a special privilege in that if such an heir hold a fee at the King's hands, although he be vassal of any other person, whether a bishop, or another clergyman or layman, the King will hold in custody all the possessions of that man. Subsequently also the same Archbishop complained to us

that when our predecessor Pope Innocent of happy memory, had by letter given commandment to the Abbot of Torbridge (Toriponte) and his colleagues that they would endeavour to bring back to the rights and property of the same lawful church the possessions of his church, which had been alienated from his predecessors to the injury of the church herself, the justiciaries of the King and certain other English persons residing in the province of Cashel would on no account permit them to proceed in the business, strictly forbidding that they should in any degree mix themselves up in the affair of these possessions. In regard to some lands also, of which they asserted that they had been unduly despoiled by certain Irish prelates, they brought these prelates into court before a secular judge. Twelve Englishmen in the presence of this judge confirmed on oath that what the others asserted with respect to the possessions was true, and hereupon a sentence was delivered against the prelates themselves, and thus by an abuse of this

description the churches continually incurred damage. We therefore wrote to the oft-named King in order that he, by the power entrusted to him, would restrain the justiciaries themselves and others from the aforesaid oppressions and would not allow the same prelates and other ecclesiastical personages to be spoliated under privilege of his tribunals, nor judgment to be perverted by the said abuse of oaths, which we considered ought to be totally abolished as contrary to law and right. But it was answered to all this on the part of the King that when, in the Kingdom of England no less than in the Kingdom of Ireland, manifold dissensions and various questions respecting a variety of spoliations and detentions were continually arising, it was decided, after deliberation and forethought, by the common counsel and consent both of the prelates of the churches and other magnates, as well as others small and great, that, for discovering the truth more easily and for administering justice more fully, four good

men shall be chosen who are to swear that they will elect twelve others whom they believe to be more faithful and more prudent for the knowledge of the question that may have arisen, and that the twelve thus elected shall on their oath inquire into the truth faithfully and make their report to the judge. He pronounces sentence according to the report and causes it to be strictly observed unless it happens that, on the complaint of the person against whom judgment has been delivered, four-and-twenty other sworn jurymen reprobate the seeking for proofs in support of the accusation on the opposite side. Hence a statute of this description appears the more expedient to ecclesiastics in proportion as they are bound to observe justice more strictly than others. Lest therefore the often-named King still under age should be on this account distressed, whom, as placed under the special protection of the apostolic see, we are bound to relieve from what is onerous, we commit to your discretion by apostolic letters, that

after having called together princes as well ecclesiastical as secular of both Kingdoms, you would very diligently inquire into the truth touching all these matters, and if, as is set forth on the part of the King, you find these things to be true, you would on no account proceed on the authority of our letters, especially since the said King ought not to be impleaded so long as he shall continue a minor.

“Given at the Lateran on the thirteenth day before the Kalends of April (March 20) in the fifth year of our Pontificate.”

THE END.

I N D E X.

	PAGE
Annals of Innisfallen - - - - -	2
Armagh, Danes refuse bishops from - - - - -	11
Anselm exercises authority in Ireland - - - - -	132
Adrian IV and Frederick Barbarossa - - - - -	159
Adrian's Bull, a conditional grant - - - - -	183
Adrian IV, grant to Henry II - - - - -	160
Alexander III on Irish vice - - - - -	180
Bishops without ordination - - - - -	115
„ in Ireland before St. Patrick - - - - -	23
„ not sent to Pagan countries - - - - -	23
Borovey, A.D. 379, reputed gift to the Pope of Ireland	27
Brigid, St., Visions - - - - -	73, 75
Bernard, St., on Irish Christians - - - - -	115
Brice's Day, St., Massacre of Danes on - - - - -	139
Berington, on value of Norman invasion - - - - -	182
Bull of Adrian in harmony with the age - - - - -	173
Crom, origin of word - - - - -	5
Celts, King-slaughtering tendency of - - - - -	11
Celestius - - - - -	22
Celestinus, Pope - - - - -	34
Confession, St. Patrick's - - - - -	47

	PAGE
Columba, St., compelled to leave Ireland - -	97
„ documents falsified to clear - -	100
„ the cause of three battles - -	101
„ censured by a Synod - -	102
„ and the Easter controversies - -	102
Celtic and Grecian character - -	105
Cork, Danish - - - -	109
Canute, a pious King - - - -	122
„ letter to the English from Rome - -	123
Clontarf - - - -	130
Canossa and Gregory VII - - - -	147
Cashel, Synod of, A.D. 1172 - - - -	166
Church spoliation, Disraeli on - - - -	191
Campion the Jesuit on Homicide in Ireland - -	178
„ „ „ pre-Norman religion - -	181
Dress of the Celts - - - -	13, 17
„ coloured - - - -	13
Danes Rathes - - - -	107
„ Irish a bad example to - - - -	130
„ possess Irish sea-ports - - - -	109
„ massacred in England - - - -	121
Danish, Bishops - - - -	110
„ Christians despise Irish - - - -	110
Dublin Bishops give obedience to Canterbury - -	111
Danish Bishops „ „ „ - - - -	109
Dupanloup on the Irish - - - -	157
Donation of Constantine - - - -	165
Disraeli on Church spoliation - - - -	191
Decrees of Synod of Cashel, A.D. 1172 - - - -	167
Expurgation of ancient documents - - - -	16, 51
Easterlings - - - -	105
English massacre of Danes - - - -	121

	PAGE
English Danes and Irish Danes - - -	123
England given by the Pope to Philip - - -	145
„ Providential work of - - -	187
Excommunications, Papal - - -	143
Episcopate, Irish submit to Henry - - -	167
Fermoy, plain of - - -	2
Fodha Ollamb - - -	9
Funerals, ancient - - -	19
Franco-Irish alliances - - -	153
Forgery, a proof of existing belief - - -	165
Grecian and Celtic characters - - -	104
Gregory VII and Canossa - - -	147
„ on William I's character - - -	150
Gratian's Donation of Constantine . - -	164
Household of St. Patrick - - -	53
Henry and the homage of Irish Kings - - -	171
„ fear of Franco-Irish alliance - - -	158
Homicide, an anecdote on Irish - - -	178
Jocelin's Life of St. Patrick - - -	49
Incontinency . . - - -	117
Index Expurgatorius, necessary - - -	52
Irish Danes and English Danes - - -	123
„ bad example to Danes - - -	130
„ buy English children - - -	141
„ Prelates censured by Pope Honorius - - -	200
„ „ submit to Henry - - -	167
„ Kings „ „ - - -	171
„ Priests, Giraldus Cambrensis on - - -	175
„ Quarrels, Father Walsh on - - -	87
„ Vice, Alexander Pope, on - - -	180
Lappenberg on Conversion of Saxons - - -	119
Laeghaire, King - - -	32

	PAGE
Laeghaire, King, meets Patrick at Tara - - - - -	57
Lorica, St, Patrick's - - - - -	63
Lanfranc, and Bishops of Dublin - - - - -	111
„ influence at Rome - - - - -	140
Limerick, Bishops of, under Canterbury - - - - -	114
„ Danish - - - - -	109
Miletus - - - - -	8
Moran, Bishop, on Patrick's Mission - - - - -	42
Martin, St., relative of Patrick - - - - -	50
Morris, Father, on Patrick - - - - -	55
Malachi - - - - -	107
Monasteries, Saxon - - - - -	120
Massacres of Bartholomew and Brice, SS. - - - - -	121
Monkish quarrels - - - - -	93
„ battles - - - - -	103
Nennius on Phœnicians - - - - -	3
Newman on Grecian character of Irish - - - - -	105
„ „ Irish Saints - - - - -	90
Norman race, William I, on - - - - -	185
„ barons, lawless - - - - -	192
Ptolemy's Map of Ireland - - - - -	4
Phœnician and Hebrew alphabet - - - - -	6
Psalter of Tara - - - - -	9
Palladius - - - - -	21
Patrick finds Altar-vessels - - - - -	25
„ a Jesuit in his principles - - - - -	31
„ decrees appeals to Rome - - - - -	71
Prosper's Chronicle - - - - -	34
Pander the, "De Salute Populi" - - - - -	75
Pope, a, gives England to France - - - - -	145
Popes oppose Sovereigns, not Sovereignty - - - - -	151
Pope Honorius to Archbishop of Dublin - - - - -	193

	PAGE
Pope Honorius' plea for Irish Priests - -	207
„ censures Prelates - -	200
Papal grant of Ireland to England - -	160
Providential guidance of the Popes - -	205
Pope John XXII and the Irish - -	214
„ replies to Irish grievances - -	227
Providential work of England - -	187
Roman legions - -	1
Robert, Archbishop of Canterbury - -	138
Spain, Irish from - -	2
Shields, of silver - -	13
Seaports mentioned by Tacitus - -	26
Scholia on Fiacc's Hymn - -	39
Statute of St. Patrick - -	67
Stigand and the Holy See - -	138
Saxons sell their children to the Irish - -	141
Synod at Cashel - -	166
Tara, chroniclers at - -	15
Todd, Dr., on Patrick - -	37
Turgesius - -	107
Usher, on Roman Mission of Patrick - -	68
Vere, Aubrey de, on Patrick - -	28
Voltaire on Papal Sovereignty - -	143
Waterford and Canterbury, Sees of - -	113
Westminster Abbey - -	137
Wars of the Roses and the Reformation - -	190



UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LIBRARY

Los Angeles

This book is DUE on the last date stamped below.

APR 08 1985
CL

23



3 1158 00230 3153

UC SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY



AA 000 394 069 9

